





























**THE**  
**MODERN TRAVELLER.**

**A**

**POPULAR DESCRIPTION,**

**GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,**

**OF THE**

**VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE**

---

**NORTH AMERICA.**

**VOL. I.**

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# CONTENTS

## OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

---

	PAGE
GENERAL STATISTICAL VIEW OF NORTH AMERICA.....	1
BOUNDARIES AND GENERAL DIVISIONS OF THE UNITED STATES .....	3
STATISTICAL AND HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE ABORIGINAL NATIONS.....	6
PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF NORTH AMERICA ....	26
DESCRIPTION OF THE GREAT LAKES.....	36
THE MISSISSIPPI .....	45
THE MISSOURI.....	49
THE COLUMBIA .....	55
TABULAR VIEW OF THE RIVERS OF NORTH AMERICA.....	56
BOTANICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE UNITED STATES.....	59
GENERAL VIEW OF THE AMERICAN CONFEDERACY .....	66
TABULAR VIEW OF THE AREA AND POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES .....	68
HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF NORTH AMERICA.....	72
SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA.....	76
SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.....	85
SETTLEMENT OF NEW YORK.....	107
SETTLEMENT OF NEW JERSEY AND DELAWARE	110
SETTLEMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.....	111
SETTLEMENT OF MARYLAND .. .	120
SETTLEMENT OF CAROLINA .....	123
SETTLEMENT OF GEORGIA .....	130



ORIGIN OF THE FRENCH WAR OF 1755 .....	136
SIEGE OF QUEBEC .....	148
DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE .....	151
ORIGIN OF DISPUTES WITH THE MOTHER COUNTRY.....	152
CONVENTION OF THE FIRST CONGRESS.....	155
AFFAIRS OF LEXINGTON AND BUNKER'S HILL....	156
POLITIC CONDUCT AND TACTICS OF WASHINGTON .....	157
SURRENDER OF GENERAL BURGOTNE .....	162
INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES ACKNOWLEDGED BY FRANCE.....	ib.
HORRIBLE EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR.....	163
SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS ... ..	167
PEACE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES .....	168
ADOPTION OF A NEW CONSTITUTION .....	169
PRESIDENCY OF WASHINGTON.. . . .	170
PRESIDENCY OF ADAMS .....	172
DEATH AND CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON.....	173
PRESIDENCY OF JEFFERSON.....	175
ORIGIN OF THE SECOND AMERICAN WAR .....	176
NAVAL CONTESTS .....	178
ADVANCE OF THE BRITISH TO WASHINGTON....	183
UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT UPON BALTIMORE. ..	185
DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH AT NEW ORLEANS....	186
RESTORATION OF PEACE .....	188
GENERAL VIEW OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND PROSPECTS OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC ..	190
REVENUE OF THE UNITED STATES.....	194
TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION—NEW YORK ....	199
ERIE AND CHAMPLAIN CANALS .....	209
POPULATION AND PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS OF NEW YORK .....	210
ENVIRONS OF NEW YORK.....	221
FROM NEW YORK TO LAKE CHAMPLAIN.....	224
VALLEY OF THE HUDSON,.....	225



# CONTENTS.

v

	PAGE
ALBANY .....	238
SARATOGA AND BALSTON SPA .....	243
LAKE GEORGE .. .....	246
LAKE CHAMPLAIN .....	250
FROM ALBANY TO NIAGARA .....	258
FALLS OF NIAGARA .....	268
TUSCARORA INDIANS .....	301
WELLAND CANAL.....	305
BOSTON .....	308
HARVARD COLLEGE .....	314
RISE AND PROGRESS OF UNITARIANISM IN AME- RICA .....	316
CHARACTER OF THE BOSTONIANS .....	322
BURKE'S PANEGYRIC' UPON THE NEW ENG- LANDERS.....	325
HUMOROUS DESCRIPTION OF THE YANKEES ....	326
TRUE CHARACTER OF THE NEW ENGLANDERS	328
GENERAL VIEW OF NEW ENGLAND.....	335
ANNUAL CATTLE-SHOW OF MASSACHUSETTS....	340
STATE OF SOCIETY, AND CONDITION OF WOMEN IN NEW ENGLAND .....	342
CLIMATE OF NEW ENGLAND.....	347
VALLEY OF THE CONNECTICUT.....	351
NEWHAVEN .....	352
YALE COLLEGE.....	362
PRINCETON COLLEGE .....	367
ANDOVER COLLEGE .....	368
CORNWALL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY .....	369
CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF CONNec- TICUT .....	370

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## DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

MAP OF BRITISH AMERICA, &c. to face the Title.	
NEW YORK .....	page 199
FALLS OF NIAGARA.....	268







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# THE KING,

UNDER WHOSE PACIFIC SCEPTRE,  
DIVINE PROVIDENCE HAS PLACED MORE THAN A SIXTH PORTION  
OF THE HUMAN RACE;

THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCH OF THE BRITANNIC ISLANDS;

THE KING OF HANOVER;

THE LORD HIGH PROTECTOR OF IONIAN GREECE;

THE SOVEREIGN PARAMOUNT OF INDIA, CEYLON, AND AUSTRALIA;

AND

PROTECTOR OF THE POLYNESIAN ISLANDS;

THE LORD OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND SENEGAMBIA,  
OF THE WESTERN INDIES,

THE CANADAS, AND NORTHERNMOST AMERICA:

## This Attempt

TO PRESENT AN ACCURATE AND AUTHENTIC DESCRIPTION OF  
THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE,  
DRAWN CHIEFLY FROM THE REPORTS OF BRITISH TRAVELLERS  
IS,

WITH HIS MAJESTY'S GRACIOUS PERMISSION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

AS THE HOMAGE OF

HIS MAJESTY'S HUMBLE SERVANT,

AND LOYAL SUBJECT,

JOSIAH CONDER.







## P R E F A C E.

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THE best extant collection of Voyages and Travels in the language, extends to seventeen very large and closely printed quarto volumes. But in that, or any similar work, the reader would in vain seek for an accurate account of the present state of a single country on the face of the globe. Amusing and often valuable as are the recitals of the older travellers, they of necessity abound with obsolete errors; they are generally barren of scientific information; and much of the information they contain, is out of date.

Were a collection of Voyages and Travels to be now published, in order to have any claim to completeness, it could not be comprised in less than fifty or sixty quarto volumes,—the size of an Encyclopædia; and after all, the collection would present only the crude materials of geographical knowledge, without order or arrangement.

To give the results of modern discovery, combined with our previous stock of information, in a succinct and popular form, so as to exhibit, at one view, the present state of our knowledge with regard to each particular country traversed by European Travellers, was the object proposed in undertaking the present work. The only publication in which this had been



attempted with any degree of competent ability, is the Geography of M. Malte Brun. In his steps, it were no disgrace to follow. His plan, however, is somewhat different; the topographical description is for the most part extremely brief and hurried, while the dissertations are extended beyond what might seem proper in a popular work; added to which, the researches of English and other Travellers have very considerably enlarged our means of information since the commencement of his admirable publication.

It is scarcely necessary to advert to the geographical articles contained in the Encyclopædias, which are, in general, as meagre as they are inaccurate. An honourable exception may be made in favour of the articles in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana. Still, topographical detail is necessarily precluded in such works; and the information sought for is often distributed through different volumes. It is also a serious drawback upon the value of all such compilations, that no references, except of a very general nature, are made to authorities.

It has been made a marked feature of the present work, that authorities are specifically and minutely cited for every statement; so that the reader has not only a pledge that the information has been faithfully and scrupulously drawn from the original sources which are cited, but he is in no case required to take the statement implicitly upon the Editor's authority, the means of verification, or of detecting any error, being always afforded him. In no case has any authority been cited, that has not been actually consulted. In the topographical description, copious extracts have been freely introduced, whenever the language of the respective writers could be employed to advantage.



But, as regards more especially the geographical survey and the historical narrative, the publication is, to an extent which the Editor did not contemplate, an original work.

The labour has not been slight, of wading through so large a mass of reading, amounting to many hundred volumes. But this has not been the most arduous part of the Editor's task. Owing to the conflicting nature of the details, in numerous instances, it has cost no small pains to reconcile the discordant statements, or to determine which authority to follow; and a critical estimate of each work has often been a preliminary task of indispensable necessity. The most popular work has not always been found the most trustworthy, or the most replete with substantial information. On the contrary, the most valuable materials have not unfrequently been extracted from the dullest volumes.

It was one part of the plan, so to arrange the volumes that the description of any country might be sold separately. To adhere to this arrangement has often been extremely difficult, as it has required the Editor not only to complete within a given time, but to compress within a given quantity, the description of a country. In a few instances, it has therefore been necessary to connect two countries, as Syria and Asia Minor, Persia and China, Spain and Portugal, Peru and Chile, in order to preserve uniformity in the size of the volumes.

The proportion of the work assigned to the description of the several countries, will not always be found to answer to the extent of territory, nor even to the anticipations of the reader. It will, however, be readily perceived, why an entire volume is devoted to



Palestine, a small province of the Turkish empire, and two volumes to Greece. On the other hand, China, Abyssinia, and Chile may seem to occupy much too inconsiderable a proportion. But the designation of the work will remind our readers, that its primary design was, to give the researches of Modern Travellers, and that countries untraversed by Europeans could with little propriety be the subject of extended description. The vague and prolix narratives of the Missionaries and older travellers, in which much that is curious is obsolete, and much that is entertaining is of doubtful authority, it formed no part of our plan to submit to any process of abridgement or analysis. In the geographical sketch which is given of those countries, the present state of our actual information will be found fairly exhibited.

The order of publication in which the volumes appeared, was in some measure arbitrary and accidental, although partly regulated by the public interest attaching to the particular country at the time. And the Editor esteems it as a most fortunate circumstance, that, while endeavouring to gratify this interest, he has uniformly been enabled, by the unanticipated publication, at that precise moment, of some important work relating to the country in hand, to avail himself of the latest authorities. With regard to the countries described in the earlier part of the series, little additional information has since been furnished. But, had India been given before the publication of Bishop Heber's most interesting Journal,—had the description of Africa been completed prior to the appearance of the volumes by Captain Beeshey, M. Pacho, and the last journal of Captain Clapperton,—had Peru been given at an earlier period of the revolutionary contest,—or had our description of the United



States been compiled on less recent information,—the value of the work would, without any blame attaching to its Editor, have been materially diminished. He is happy, therefore, to acknowledge his great obligations to the interesting volumes he has alluded to. It is at the same time as collated and combined with our previous information, that their contents acquire their chief permanent value.

To the general reader, the historical account of the various countries will perhaps be the most interesting portion of the work, as it is that which has cost the most labour, and required the most care. This, in some instances, is, of necessity, far more minute and extended, than was thought requisite in others. The ancient history of Egypt, of Persia, and of Arabia, forms an indispensable introduction to their modern geography. On the other hand, the Editor has not affected to give a history of Ancient Greece; but a full and fair account, he flatters himself, will be found, of the revolution which has restored Modern Greece to the name of a country. A description of Mexico would have been very incomplete without the history of its conquest by Cortes, or of the recent revolution which has established its independence. Of the South American Revolution also, recent documents have enabled him to give a complete history.

Of the four volumes devoted to India, (a large and yet inadequate portion of the work,) nearly two are occupied with its ancient and modern history; but the latter will be found to comprise, to a considerable extent, a topographical description of the country. In entering upon the boundless field of investigation which India presents, the complicated nature of the Editor's labours was not a little increased by the



extremely crude and imperfect state of both our geographical and statistical knowledge relating to that highly interesting region. Of this, a few instances may be given. Scarcely two geographers are agreed as to the countries which ought to be included under that appellation; and in both the names and the general arrangement of the provinces, there will be found considerable variation in our best authorities. As to the population of India, a difference of not less than thirty millions will be found between the estimates of Humboldt and Malte Brun. As to its ancient geography, the learning of D'Anville, owing to the deficiency of his information, has failed to decipher it. In his day, the Burrampooter was unknown as one of the principal rivers of India. Major Rennell's invaluable work has done much towards illustrating the geography of India; but, owing to the same circumstances, much of it is hypothetical. Since its publication, some particular provinces have been explored and partially described by military writers; some important trigonometrical surveys have been executed; and, scattered through the numerous volumes of the Transactions of Learned Societies and periodical registers and journals, are to be found highly valuable illustrations of the natural and political history, religion, and antiquities of Hindostan. But little or nothing has been effected in the competent and scientific arrangement of these stores of information.

The Editor would gladly have been excused from undertaking so laborious and delicate a task as that of attempting to give the outlines of a history which, commencing in fable, terminates in politics; while the intermediate portion embraces a complexity of detail which it is particularly difficult to bring into order, or to compress into a succinct narrative. He



wishes to speak with the utmost diffidence of the manner in which he has executed his task ; but he may be forgiven for pointing out what he has attempted.

The history of India divides itself into three grand periods, the ancient history, the Mohammedan annals, and the history of the European colonies. Its ancient history, of which a brief sketch only has been attempted, still remains to be competently written. The materials for illustrating the annals of the Mohammedan dynasties, are sufficiently copious. While Ferishta's history has formed the basis of the sketch, the valuable work of Major Price, the interesting Memoirs of Baber, Orme's Historical Fragments, Mr. Mill's spirited outline, and even Mr. Maurice's ponderous volumes, have been diligently consulted, and have contributed largely to the materials of the narrative. The History of British India occupies the second, and part of the third volume. This was of course by far the most difficult task. When it is recollected, that Mr. Mill's able work, extending to six closely printed volumes, comes down no later than the close of Lord Wellesley's administration in 1806, and that the brilliant administration of Lord Hastings, which has completed and consolidated our conquests in India, is not included in his narrative, the mere labour of abridgement will be seen to be far from inconsiderable. Mr. Mill's History is itself a digest of multifarious and discordant materials ; and his narrative almost defies abridgement by its conciseness. A considerable portion of his volumes, however, is occupied with legal and political disquisitions, into which it has not been deemed proper to enter ; and the design of his work led him at the same time to confine himself to the political history of the British



possessions, to the exclusion of many interesting details connected with the general history of India. Although, therefore, his authority has been chiefly followed, so far as available, it was found necessary to have recourse to other sources of information; more especially to the highly interesting and valuable *History of the South of India*, by Colonel Wilks, Sir John Malcolm's *Political History of India*, Major Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, and, where Mr. Mill's history terminates, to the recent publications of Mr. Prinsep and Colonel Valentine Blacker. By refraining from political disquisition, by omitting or compressing the military and legislative details, and by observing as much conciseness as was consistent with distinctness, the Editor has endeavoured to comprise within his narrow limits, every material fact, and to present, for the first time in a consecutive and complete form, a history with which no Englishman ought to remain unacquainted. The authorities which it has been found necessary to consult for the history and description of India alone, and to which references are always given, amount to upwards of sixty quarto, and as many octavo volumes.

The Notes of the work are more numerous and sometimes longer than the Editor could have wished; but into this form it appeared necessary to throw, first, the authorities for the statements in the text, and what may be called the various readings, when respectable authorities were at variance; secondly, illustrative anecdotes, which would have interrupted the description or narrative; thirdly, etymological explanations, scriptural references when the subject admitted of Biblical illustration, and occasionally such brief observations, queries, or other mis-



cellaneous matter as the Editor has ventured on his own responsibility, and which he has deemed it better to offer in the shape of comment, than of text. He has strenuously resisted, however, the temptation to deviate into any lengthened disquisition; and has aimed more at exciting and directing further inquiries, than at giving expression to any opinions of his own upon the antiquarian or geographical points of inquiry that have been adverted to. In fact, to facilitate the labours of future travellers, and to enable them to turn their opportunities to better account, by being put in possession of the results of previous investigation, has been one main object; and it is in this way, the Editor flatters himself, that the work is destined to advance the progress of knowledge. With this view, the routes and distances have been laid down, so far as practicable, with a minuteness that may seem unnecessary to the general reader, but which the traveller in foreign lands will appreciate.

Another feature of the work upon which much care has been bestowed, is the statistical tables, exhibiting the corresponding ancient and modern territorial divisions, the extent of surface, population, &c. Of the tables which add so materially to the value of M. Malte Brun's work, the Editor has of course availed himself; but, in most cases, he has found it necessary to compile them from more recent information, and to follow his own judgement in the geographical arrangements. It is to be lamented, that no work on geography in the English language, (the translation of M. Malte Brun excepted,) has any claims to scientific accuracy.

The Editor must now speak of the assistance he has received in the compilation of these volumes. Nothing



was further from his intention, when, at the request of the Publisher, he drew up the Prospectus of the work, than to undertake, by himself, a labour of such magnitude ; more especially under the disadvantages of a periodical publication. The design was, to engage several hands in the work. The volume on Russia was accordingly undertaken, and, for the most part, written, by a Gentleman who no longer lives to receive this public acknowledgement—the late W. Stevenson, Esq., of the Treasury, the able Editor of Kerr's Voyages and Travels. Before, however, his respected colleague had found time to complete his task, the Editor had been compelled by circumstances to produce, in succession, eighteen parts (nine volumes) of the work ; and the experiment convinced all parties, that the idea of employing various writers to concur in the same precise plan, so as to preserve a uniformity and correspondence in the different parts of the work, was chimerical. Mr. Stevenson was not anxious to encounter the labour of a second task. In another quarter, where effective assistance had been looked for in the description of Spain, the Editor was completely disappointed, and was compelled to execute the task himself. In a third instance, he feels bound to acknowledge his obligations to Edward Upham, Esq., the Author of the “History of Budhism,” for his contributions to the volume descriptive of Birmah. With these exceptions, the Editor has been compelled to take upon himself the undivided labour of authorship, at some risk to his health, and at the complete sacrifice of his leisure. But he has no cause to regret on his own account, whatever he may on that of the public, the unforeseen necessity of completing, single handed, a work, from the compilation of which he has reaped so much pleasure and instruction.



It scarcely belongs to the Editor, to advert to the extreme cheapness of the work. Yet, it is due to the Publisher to point out the fact,—that every volume contains a quantity of letter-press equal to two ordinary octavo volumes of double the price.

The highly flattering and encouraging notice that has been taken of the work, during the course of publication, by the various literary journals, while it has materially contributed to extend its sale and popularity, has not a little excited the Editor's anxious efforts to render it as worthy as possible of the public approbation.

It only remains to advert to what has *not* been accomplished, and what it would have been impossible to accomplish,—a complete description of *all* the countries on the face of the globe. The work, it will be seen, comprises all the regions of the East, of the western hemisphere, and of Africa, which are accessible to the European traveller ; it includes a description of Eastern Europe, and of the Western Peninsula ; but that which is specifically termed the Continent, that is to say, the countries formerly comprised in what was called the Grand Tour,—France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, are passed over. No disappointment, the Editor is confident, will be occasioned by this circumstance, since the attempt to comprise them within the present series of thirty volumes, would have been absurd. They belong to a home circuit, and will require a totally different plan to be pursued in describing them. Their geography requires little or no illustration ; their history is that of Europe ; the routes are, for the most part, laid



down in the road books ; the descriptions of their most prominent features have become trite. The antiquary, the naturalist, and the topographer find, indeed, in those countries, infinite matter for their respective pursuits ; and they are the favourite field of the political philosopher. But, for all these reasons, they could not be with propriety comprehended in the Popular Description we have given of the less familiar regions of remoter lands. If we may be allowed to make a verbal distinction, we should say, the former are the countries of the tourist : to have visited the latter, alone entitles the adventurous individual to rank as a traveller.

Should the Editor's life and health serve him, it is his intention to comply with the invitation of his Publisher, in attempting a description of the neighbouring countries in a series of distinct works, to appear from time to time as he may be able to complete them ; but, after the unremitting labours of six years, it is with no ordinary satisfaction that he puts the finishing stroke to the present series, and finds himself released from the irksomeness of a periodical engagement.

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## ERRATA.

[Most of the following inaccuracies have been rectified in the greater part of the impression.]

- Vol. I. Palestine, p. 22, line 18, *read* twenty-three hours (or about 100 miles) N.N.W. of Jerusalem.
- IV. Arabia, p. 27, line 5, *for* Gondurz, *read* Goudurz.
- V. Egypt, vol. i. p. 170, line 4 from bottom, *for* families, *read* individuals.
- VI. — vol. ii. p. 21, line 26, *for* Great Western Oasis, *read* the Smaller Oasis.
- vol. ii. p. 166, note, line 8, *for* Meltpa, *read* Metopa.
- vol. ii. p. 228, line 15, *for* Enamour, *read* Ain Amoor.
- VII. India, vol. i. p. 74, line 23, *for* Manghir, *read* Monghir.
- vol. i. p. 79, line 7 of note, *for* boing, *read* being.
- vol. i. p. 84, line 12, *for* It it, *read* It is.
- vol. i. p. 92, line 10, *dele* ".
- vol. i. p. 92, line 20, *for* anpinga, *read* anhinga.
- vol. i. p. 102, line 13, *read*, and that of, &c.
- vol. i. p. 332, line 3 of note, *for* ironical, *read* irenical.
- VIII. — vol. ii. p. 14, line 11, *for* 1740, 41, *read* 1640, 41.
- vol. ii. p. 37, line 6 from bottom, *for* Nasir Jung, *read* Musuffer Jung.
- vol. i. p. 134, note\*, *read* The secret reason is said to have been, that the Rajah had been guilty of borrowing money of the Dutch, instead of applying to the great folks at Madras.
- IX. — vol. iii. p. 35, line 6 from bottom, *read* the scorching sands of Rajpootana, and the wild jungles of Gujerat.
- XI. Birmah, p. 78, line 14, *for* Brimans, *read* Birmans.
- p. 95, line 5, *for* Binnah, *read* Birmah.
- p. 107, line 3, *dele* or Bahar.
- p. 358, note, line 5 from bottom, *read* which, I understood, was done by the present, &c.



# ERRATA.

- Vol. XII. Persia, vol. i. p. 129 note, *for Asemas, read Aceaines.*
- XIII. ——— vol. ii. p. 67 note, *for thirty miles, read fifty.*
- vol. ii. p. 129, line 4, *for at, read to.*
- vol. ii. p. 259, line 4, *for long. 40° E., read long. 48° E. (Kinneir), &c.*
- XV. Greece, vol. i. p. 139, line 12, *for Londari, read Leondari.*
- vol. i. p. 139, line 14, *for Taygetum, read Taygetus.*
- XX. Africa, vol. i. p. 90, *for and falling; in and, read and falling in; and, &c.*
- vol. i. p. 183, last line, *for vol. i., read vol. ii.*
- vol. i. p. 203, line 12, *for Vaudals, read Vandals.*
- vol. i. p. 277, line 14, *for Getullan, read Getulian.*
- XXI. ——— vol. ii. p. 347, line 11, *for maket, read market.*
- XXVIII. Peru, p. 309, line 3 from bottom of note, *for earth, read hearth.*
- XXIX. Brazil, vol. i. p. 16, line 12, *for north, read south.*
- vol. i. p. 60, line 1, *for 1819, read 1809.*
- vol. i. p. 94 note, *read 20 mil-reis.*
- vol. i. p. 136, line 12, *for Prussian, read Russian.*
-



# THE MODERN TRAVELLER,

3c. 3c.

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## THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

[Extending from latitude  $24^{\circ} 20'$  to  $49^{\circ}$  N., and from longitude  $67^{\circ}$  to  $124^{\circ}$  W. Bounded, on the N., by the British Possessions; E. by the Atlantic Ocean; S. by the Gulf of Mexico; S.W. by the Mexican territory; and W. by the Pacific Ocean.]

OF the New World which the great Italian Navigator had the glory of giving to Castile and Leon,\* it is remarkable, that no part now belongs to the crown of Spain, except the noble island† which holds his mortal remains, and that of Porto Rico. In vain Pope Alexander made over these vast regions to their Most Christian Majesties in perpetuity. The English language and the Protestant faith have taken root and spread themselves over the greater part of the Northern America, as well as the islands of the Caribbean Sea; while the Spanish possessions on both sides of the Isthmus, are divided among seven Republics,‡ and what was once Portuguese America,

\* The inscription on Columbus's monument at Seville, is:—

*"A Castilla y a Leon  
Nuevo Mundo dio Colon."*

† His bones were transported to America, and deposited in the cathedral of the city of San Domingo, whence they were transferred, in the year 1796, to Havana.

‡ The Dictatorship of Paraguay is at present an eighth state,



forms the empire of Brazil. According to Baron Humboldt's computations, the continent of America, from the south-eastern extremity of the Isthmus of Panama to the parallel of 68°, forms an area of 607,337 square marine leagues; while South America comprises 571,290 square leagues. To the West Indies and Newfoundland is assigned a territorial surface of about 8303. The total is 1,186,930 square leagues, or about 12,000,000 square miles, with a population now amounting to nearly forty millions. The political distribution of these regions is thus stated:—

	<i>Sq. leagues.</i>	<i>Population.</i>
I. British Possessions . . . . .	205,000*	2,300,000
II. United States . . . . .	174,300	11,700,000
•	379,000	14,000,000
III. Spanish Republics . . . . .	371,380	17,000,000
IV. Brazilian Empire . . . . .	256,990	5,000,000
V. Russian, Danish, & other territories	179,266	2,700,000
	<hr/> 1,186,936	<hr/> 38,700,000

According to this calculation, English America forms rather less than a third of the territorial surface; Spanish America nearly the same, and, with Portuguese America, more than one-half. The population of the Spanish and Portuguese portions is, to the British, as about 3 to 2. But the relative population of the United States is by far the greatest.

but there can be little doubt of its eventual annexation to the southern federacy.

\* It seems doubtful, whether the West India Islands are included in this estimate of territorial surface. The area of the British Possessions in North America is estimated, in Carey and Lea's Atlas, at 1,050,000 square miles, and the population at 700,000.



While comprising less than half the area of Spanish America, they contain two thirds of the population.\* In the British continental possessions, the relative population is exceedingly small; while in Russian America, in the unappropriated territory bordering on New Mexico, and in the Patagonian lands south of the Rio Negro, the country is for the most part little better than desert. A large portion of the Brazilian territory is of the same barren character.

The territory of the United States, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and from the St. Lawrence and the great chain of Lakes which divide it from Canada, to the Gulf of Mexico, is about 2500 miles in mean length, and 830 miles in mean breadth;† the area being about 2,080,800 square miles, or ten times the extent of France. This vast territory is intersected by the great central valley of the Mississippi, which runs from N. to S. through the whole length of the United States, dividing it into two grand portions. These are again divided by two principal ranges of mountains; the Alleghany Mountains in the east, running nearly parallel with the Atlantic coast, and the Rocky Mountains, W. of the

\* Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. vi. pp. 126, 7; 345. Estimating the total population of Continental America at only thirty-four millions in 1823, the learned Author assigns sixteen and a half to the Spanish Americans, four to the Portuguese Americans, and ten to the Anglo-Americans; the proportions being as 4, 1, 2½; and the two first to the third as 2 to 1. The British possessions are omitted in this calculation.

† Its extreme length from the Pacific Ocean to Passamaquoddy Bay is, according to Malte Brun, 2780 miles; its greatest breadth, from the coast of Louisiana to the river La Plue, 1300 miles; and its area, 2,300,000 square miles.—Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 150. In Carey and Lea, the area is stated at only 2,076,400 square miles, or 1,328,896,000 acres. We have followed Humboldt.



**Mississippi.** The proportions of these four grand natural departments are thus estimated :—

		<i>Sq. miles.</i>	<i>Sq. miles.</i>
<b>I. Eastern Division.</b>			
i. Atlantic States . . . . .		324,000	
ii. Transalleghean territory E. of the Mississippi . . . . .	}	606,000	930,000
<b>II. Western Division.</b>			
i. Between the Mississippi and Rocky Mountains (including the Lakes) }		868,400	
ii. W. of the Rocky Mountains . .		288,400	1,156,800
			<u>2,086,800</u>

The whole territory is a little larger than Europe to the westward of Russia. The Atlantic States are about equal to Spain and France united. The eastern division, which is rapidly advancing in culture and civilization, contains a superficial extent equal to that of Mexico ; while the western, which is almost entirely wild and unpeopled, is a territory as large as that of the Republic of Colombia.\*

The natural and political boundaries of the United States, eastward and westward, are now fixed and incontestable. On the south-east also, the Gulf of Mexico forms a limit not less determinate. On the south-west, the boundary (according to the treaty with Spain, ratified in 1821) extends from the Gulf of Mexico along the western bank of the Sabine river to latitude 32°; thence, by a line due N. to the river Arkansas, and along the southern bank of that river to its source; and finally, from a point in the Rocky Mountains in latitude 42° N., longitude 108° W., it passes along the forty-second parallel to the Pacific Ocean. On the side of the British possessions, the line of demarcation has never been finally adjusted.

\* Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. vi. pp. 179—181.



On the north-east, a conventional line, drawn from the mouth of the St. Croix to the forty-eighth parallel, separates the American State of Maine from New Brunswick, embracing the head waters of the river St. John. A part of this tract, however, is claimed by the British Government; and the question remains for arbitration.\* From this extreme northern point, the frontier line passes, in a south-westerly direction, along the ridge of mountains to the forty-fifth parallel, and is continued along that parallel till it strikes the river St. Lawrence 120 miles below Lake Ontario. It then proceeds up that river, and through the great lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior; whence it runs along the river La Pluie, to the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods. From long. 95° W., it passes along the forty-ninth parallel to the Rocky Mountains. On the western side of that

\* Several distinct questions of boundary remained to be determined by Commissioners on both sides, in pursuance of the provisions of the Treaty of Ghent. The first related to the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, of which the decision of the Commissioners (Nov. 24, 1817) assigned to the United States, Moose Island, Dudley Island, and Frederic Island, and to Great Britain, all the other islands in the Bay. A more important question respects the boundary between the States of Maine and Vermont and the British territory. It is contended on the part of the American Government, that "so much of the line established prior to the year 1776, as being in the latitude of 45°, and the boundary between the then provinces of New York and Quebec, as had been actually surveyed prior to that year, under the joint authority of the two provinces," ought still to remain the boundary, notwithstanding the subsequent provisions of the Treaty of Ghent. There is a question also respecting the construction of the terms of that treaty, as regards the "north-west angle of Nova Scotia," from which the boundary was to be drawn. The territory claimed by the British Government, as belonging to New Brunswick, is something under 7,000,000 acres. In the Quarterly Review, it is erroneously stated at 10,000,000 of square miles!—See *North American Review*, April 1828, Art. 5, *North-eastern Boundary*. *Ib.* Oct. 1828, Art. 11.



range, the Americans lay claim to the country between the forty-second and the forty-ninth parallels; \* but a counter claim has been made by the British Government to the territory near the mouth of the Colombia river, and the question is still pending. The American Government has proposed to continue the boundary along the parallel of 49°; and should that line strike the navigable waters of the Colombia, they have offered to make the navigation of that river free to the British. This arrangement, though not hitherto acceded to, will probably be the issue.†

About three-fourths of North America are still in possession of the aboriginal tribes. "If we begin on the coast of the Pacific Ocean in latitude 30° N., and draw a line along that parallel till it strikes the meridian of 94° W., and then due N. along that meridian to the parallel of 47° N., and thence due E. along that parallel to the Atlantic Ocean,—nearly all the continent south and east of this line is in the possession of the whites; while the Indians possess nearly all to the north and west of this line. That is to say, the Indians still own all the northern part of what has been termed Spanish America, the western part of the United States, and nearly the whole of British America."‡ From the eastern division of the United States, they are fast disappearing. Dr. Morse states, as the result of his inquiries, that there were in 1822,

\* M. Malte Brun states, that, "on the west side of the mountains, the Americans have an *unquestioned* claim to the country from the 42nd to the 49th parallel, and a *more doubtful* claim, which is disputed by *Russia*, to the country from the 49th to the 60th parallel."—vol. v. p. 151. This representation disposes of the British claims rather too summarily.

† See *American Review*, No. lxi. pp. 501—512.

‡ Carey and Lea's Atlas, No. 3.



only 8387 Indians in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania; 120,283 in the country east of the Mississippi; and about 470,000 all together in the whole territory of the United States.\* Within the British American dominions, it has been estimated, that the Indians number 9500 warriors, or 34,550 souls.† In New Mexico and New California, where the population is only in the proportion of seven inha-

\* Malte Brun, vol. v. pp. 151, 223. The following are the details of the latest calculation furnished by Dr. Morse:—

In New England . . . . .	2,247
New York . . . . .	5,184
Ohio . . . . .	2,407
Michigan and North-West Territories . . .	28,380
Illinois and Indiana . . . . .	17,006
Southern States E. of Mississippi . . .	65,122
W. of Mississippi and N. of Missouri . . .	33,150
Between Missouri and Red River . . .	101,070
Between Red River and Rio del Norte . . .	45,370
W. of Rocky Mountains . . . . .	171,200
	<hr/>
	471,136

In a message communicated to the Senate by the President of the United States in 1825, the total number of Chippewas and Ottowas inhabiting the territory of Michigan, is stated at 18,473; and in an official report made the year before, the number of Chippewas inhabiting the southern shores of Lake Superior and the sources of the Mississippi, is stated at 7324. This tribe alone, therefore, must still amount to nearly 30,000. The Sioux are estimated by Pike at 21,675. The Six Nations were reduced, in 1814, to 6330. The Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees together amounted to somewhat less than 50,000. Of the western tribes, the most numerous are the Osages, the Pawnees, and the Ietans and Padoucas.—Warden, vol. iii. pp. 527—566. James, vol. ii. p. 134. Pike, pp. 134, 268. North American Review, No. lx. pp. 97, 98. Hodgson's Letters from N. Amer. vol. ii. p. 394.

† Warden, vol. iii. p. 566. This estimate is from the report of Mr. John F. Schermerhorn, who supposes the boundary line between the United States and the British possessions to run along the ridge which separates the waters of the Mississippi from those that flow into Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan river.



bitants to a square league, and in the mountainous territory of Mapimi, occupied by the Appaches, the Indians may amount to between 60,000 and 70,000 souls. Their total numbers, therefore, may be roughly estimated at rather more than half a million, or less than 600,000 souls. To the west of the Mississippi, the population of the United States is only eight persons to the square league.

The aboriginal inhabitants of New England were the great nation of Mohekaneews or Muhheakunnuks, whose language, the Algonquin, was spoken by all the tribes between the Potowmac and the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi and the Atlantic, with the exception of the Iroquois, who were a distinct race of intrusive conquerors.\* Under the appellation of Chippeways, tribes of this same great family are scattered over the north-west territory of the United States, from the western side of Lake Huron to the sources of the Mississippi, round the Red Lake, and on the Red River of Lake Winipeg. The Chippewa or Algonquin language, which Major Pike characterises as one of the most copious and sonorous of all the North American dialects, serves as the medium of communication in great national conferences, as well as in all mercantile transactions, among all except the Sioux tribes, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Lake just mentioned.† The Delaware or Len-

\* Dwight, vol. I. pp. 85, 86; 102. To this family, the learned Writer states, belonged the Pequods in Connecticut; the Narrhagansetts in Rhode Island; the Wampanoags, Nipnets or Nipmuks, Nashuas, and Stockbridge Indians in Massachusetts; the Pigwacket and Coos Indians in New Hampshire; the Tarrateens, Abenakis, and Aberginians in Maine. See also North American Review, No. lxiii. p. 361.

† Pike, p. 133. The Algonquins Proper, from which tribe the language of the Chippeways derives its name, are dispersed along the northern sides of Lakes Ontario and Erie.—Pike, p. 131.



ni-lenape, the Mohegan, the Knisteneaux, are all branches of the same stock.\* The Knisteneaux (Cristinaux, Killistonous, Crees) Indians are spread over a vast extent of country. Their language, Mackenzie says, "is the same as that of the people who inhabit the coast of British America on the Atlantic, with the exception of the Esquimaux, and continues along the coast of Labrador and the Gulf and banks of St. Lawrence to Montreal. The line then follows the Utawas river to its source, and continues from thence nearly west along the high lands which divide the waters that fall into Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay. It then proceeds till it strikes the middle part of the river Winipic, following that water through the Lake Winipic to the discharge of the Saskatchewan into it: from thence, it accompanies the latter to Fort George, when the line, striking by the head of the Beaver River to the Elk River, runs along its banks to its discharge in the Lake of the Hills; from which it may be carried back eastward to the Isle à la Crosse, and so on to Churchill by the Missinipi. The whole of the tract between this line and Hudson's

\* "The Mohegan is a dialect closely allied to the Delaware; and they are both branches of the great Algonquin stock, and cognate with the Chippewa, Ottawa, Shawnese, Potawatamie, Miami, Kickapoo, Menomonie, &c. The general structure of these various dialects is the same; and there is no important syntactical formation in one, which is not found in all."—North American Review, No. lix. p. 388. To this and several other able articles on the Indian languages in the same Journal, we shall have frequent occasion to refer as an authority of high value. But the Menomenies seem to be erroneously included in the above enumeration. Like the Winebagoes and other tribes, they understand the Algonquin, and use it in their intercourse with the Whites; but their own language is peculiar, and no white man has been hitherto known to acquire it. The facility with which the Algonquin is acquired, Major Pike says, is one reason of its prevalence.—Pike, p. 125.



Bay and Straits, (except the country of the Esquimaux,) may be said to be exclusively the country of the Knisteneaux. Some of them, indeed, have penetrated further west and south to the Red River, to the south of Lake Winipeg, and the southern branch of the Saskatchiwine.\*

The Chippewas and Ottowas of the Michigan and North-western territory are here evidently referred to as belonging to the Knisteneaux nation. These tribes, which are the same as the *Ouchepouas* and *Saulteurs* of the French Missionaries, had separated from the Algonquins, and migrated westward, before the arrival of the French in the St. Lawrence. The main body of the tribe is now placed where it was found by the earliest discoverers, upon the shores of Lake Superior, extending northward with the boundary line of the Union, westward to the Mississippi and Red River, and southward to the source of Black River and the northern curve of Green Bay. The tract they occupy, is sterile and forbidding, affording few advantages either for the savage or the civilized state; and the inhabitants rely almost entirely upon hunting for their subsistence.†

Under the name of Chepewyan Indians, Mr. Mac-

\* Mackenzie, pp. xci, xcii. A vocabulary of the Knisteneaux and the Algonquin is given (pp. cvii—cxvi.), which establishes the identity of the two languages, although differing as dialects both in pronunciation and in many of the forms of expression. The Algonquin of Mackenzie is clearly the Chippewa or Algic of the North American Reviewer. The Chippewas are said to denominate their own language *Ojibwamoong*, and call themselves *Ojibwa*; pl. *Ojibwaag*.—North American Review, No. lx. p. 111.

† North American Review, No. lx. 98, 99. Those of Lake Superior are generally denominated *Sauteaux* by the traders; others are distinguished as *Crees*, *Nepesangs*, *Musconongees*, *Ottaways*, &c.—Pike, pp. 130, 131,



kenzie, however, describes a numerous tribe occupying a very different region, and, judging from their vocabulary, of doubtful affinity to the Algonquin tribes. The country which they consider as their lands or home, lies between the parallels of  $60^{\circ}$  and  $65^{\circ}$  N., and the meridians of  $100^{\circ}$  and  $110^{\circ}$  W. "They speak a copious language, which is very difficult to be attained, and furnishes dialects to the various emigrant tribes which inhabit this immense tract of country. The boundary begins at Churchill, and runs along the line of separation between them and the Knisteneaux up the Missinipi to the Isle à la Crosse, passing on through Buffalo Lake, River Lake, and Portage la Loche. From thence it proceeds by the Elk River to the Lake of the Hills, and goes directly west to the Peace River; and up that river to its source and tributary waters; whence it proceeds to the waters of the River Colombia, and follows that river to latitude  $52^{\circ} 24'$  N., and longitude  $122^{\circ} 54'$  W., where the Chepewyans have the Atnah or Chin nation for their neighbours. It then takes a line due W. to the sea-coast, within which the country is possessed by a people who speak their language, and are consequently descended from them. There can be no doubt, therefore, of their progress being to the eastward. A tribe of them is even known at the upper establishments on the Saskatchewan." Those who have intercourse with the traders, have a smattering of the Knisteneaux tongue, in which they carry on their dealings. Their numerals are, however, quite different. "They make war upon the Esquimaux, who cannot resist their superior numbers, and put them to death, as it is a principle with them, never to make prisoners. At the same time, they tamely submit to the Knisteneaux, al-



though less numerous, when they treat them as enemies." \*

To the south-west of the Chippewa territory are situated the lands of the Sioux tribes, a powerful and warlike nation, the dread of all their neighbours from the river Corbeau to the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri. Their claim of limits begins at the Prairie des Chiens, and ascends the Mississippi on both sides to the Raven River, runs up that river to its source, embraces the whole length of the St. Peter's, and extending thence to the Missouri, includes the lower part of Shienne River, and all the waters of the White and Teton rivers. Major Pike characterizes them as "the most warlike and independent Indian nation within the boundaries of the United States, their every passion being subservient to that of war. Their guttural pronunciation, high cheek-bones, and distinct manners, together with their own traditions, supported by the testimony of neighbouring nations, put it," (he adds,) "in my mind, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that they have emigrated from the north-west point of America, and are absolutely descendants of a Tartar tribe." † Captain Clarke describes these same Indians as "the

\* Mackenzie, pp. cxvi—cxxiv. The Chepewyans ascribe their national origin to a dog. They are the Indians of the North described by Hearne; but are confounded by Warden with the Chippewas. Whether their language is related to the Algonquin, can be determined only by a further acquaintance with its structure. It is at all events a distinct dialect, although some of the words are evidently related, e.g.,

	Knisteneaux.	Algonquin.	Chippewa.	Chepewyan.
Man.	<i>Ethini.</i>	<i>Inini.</i>		<i>Dinnie.</i>
Woman.	<i>Esquois.</i>	<i>Ichquois.</i>	<i>Eekwa.</i>	<i>Chequois.</i>
My father.	<i>Noo-ta-wie.</i>	<i>Nossai.</i>	<i>N' oas.</i>	<i>Zi tah.</i>
My mother.	<i>Nigah-wei</i>	<i>Nigah.</i>	<i>Nin guh.</i>	<i>Zi nah.</i>

† Pike, p. 120.



pirates of the Missouri, and the vilest miscreants of the savage race." Singularly different is the account given by Chateaubriand of this nation. "The Sioux, who came, according to their own tradition, from Mexico to the Upper Mississippi, have extended the empire of their language from that river to the Rocky Mountains in the west, and northward to the Red River. The Sioux language hisses in a manner extremely unpleasant to the ear. It is this that has given name to almost all the rivers and places to the west of Canada; the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Osage, &c."\* The whole of this statement rests upon doubtful or erroneous information. The Mississippi has at least received its name from the Algonquin tribes, in whose language it signifies Great River.† The proper name of the Sioux is the Dacota nation, or, as Major Pike says they style themselves, *Narcotah*. They are subdivided into various bands, bearing the distinctive names of Yangtongs, Teton, Washpetongs (or Leaf beds), Washpeconte, Minowa Kantongs, and Sussitongs.‡ The Ossinabwains or Stone Sioux are a revolted band of the same nation. They have received the name of *Bwain* (pl. *Bwainug*) from the

\* Chateaubriand, vol. I. p. 257.

† *Sippe*, *Sipi*, *Seebes*, in the Knisteneaux, Algonquin, and Chipewewa, signifies river; and *Mosha* is given by Mackenzie as the Algonquin for big. *Missi* or *Messe* also occurs in the sense of all; as *Missi-achki*, the whole earth. We have again the river *Mississippi*, i. e. the Great Water. Humboldt, following Heckewelder, makes Mississippi to be corrupted from *Nemasi-sipu*, i. e. Fish River; but this appears to be a mistake.

‡ Pike, pp. 125—9. Warden, vol. III. pp. 563, 4. Lewis and Clarke, vol. I. pp. 83, 199. According to Captain Clarke, they are divided into ten bands. "The Mindawarcarton, or Proper Sioux, or Dacota Indians, inhabit both sides of the Mississippi, above the falls of St. Anthony." There are four tribes of Teton, two of Yankton, one of Wahpatones, one of Wahpatoota, and one of Sistasoone; according to Captain Clarke's orthography.



Chippewas, in allusion to the Sioux practice of impaling their prisoners before a fire; the word *abwoinik* signifying a stick upon which flesh is roasted.\* The more common designation applied to them by the Chippewas, however, is *Naudowaysee*, i. e. our enemies; a phrase which, from long application, has acquired a specific import.† A war of extermination had been carried on between the Sioux and the Chippewas for nearly two centuries, when, in 1805, Major Pike succeeded in inducing both sides to agree to a peace. The Ossinabwoins, who extend from Red River westward nearly to the Rocky Mountains, and are computed at 1500 warriors, are a very ferocious race of depredators. They are said to have maintained a war with the nation from which they have detached themselves for about a century; and, in alliance with the Crees (Knisteneaux), they are engaged in perpetual predatory warfare against the Slave Indians and other western tribes. Dr. Richardson considers the Asseennaboine (as he writes the word) as a branch of the great stock of the Iroquois.‡ This would be a curious fact, were it satisfactorily ascertained; but we suspect it to be a mistake. The Sioux will probably be found to be more nearly allied to the Missouri nations.

Of the once powerful and numerous confederacy, known under the name of the Six Nations, called by the French, the Iroquois, a feeble remnant inhabit the western parts of the State of New York. Many of them, however, have retired into Canada, where they

\* North American Rev., No. ix. p. 112. The word *Buccaneer* is of similar derivation, from the Caribbean *boucan*, the rude apparatus for drying and smoking flesh. The Sioux are literally the *Buccaneers* of North America.

† North American Review, No. ix. p. 112. Mackenzie represents the Stone Indians as a tribe detached from the "Nadawasis."

‡ Franklin's Narrative, p. 105. Mackenzie, pp. lxiii, lxxii, Pike, p. 133.



are known under the appellation of Hurons. They style themselves Mingoes; but, by the Indians to the southward, with whom they were at war, they were called Massawomacs.\* The confederacy originally consisted of five nations; the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. To these, in 1712, were added the Tuscaroras (or Monacans), who originally inhabited part of North Carolina, but who, from a similarity of language, were recognized by the other tribes as a branch of the same stem. The Huron or Iroquois is said to be both melodious and energetic, but considerable difference of pronunciation distinguishes the dialects. The language has one remarkable peculiarity: it has no labials, but abounds with gutturals and aspirates.†

The Iroquois, it has already been stated, were not the original inhabitants of the country they now occupy. The Mohekaneews, Dr. Dwight says, universally considered themselves as the primitive inhabitants, and styled the Iroquois interlopers. The latter admitted

\* Dwight, vol. iv. p. 177. Jefferson's Notes, p. 325. They styled themselves also, Dr. Dwight says, the *Aganuschione* (or united people), and *Onqueshonwe* (men surpassing all others).

† The Iroquois say: "When white men speak, they shut their mouths; red men, when they speak, open their mouths." The Oneidas, who were considered to speak the language more gracefully and mellifluously than the other tribes, compared the harsh pronunciation of the Tuscaroras to the noise of the white man's waggon running down a stony hill. This harshness proceeded from their terminating a great part of their words with the guttural aspirate, which the other tribes use more sparingly. Oratory was cultivated by the Iroquois with great care; and an eloquent man ranked next to a renowned warrior in the estimation of his tribe.—Dwight, vol. iv. pp. 196, 7. A grammar and dictionary of the Huron or Iroquois has been composed by the French missionaries.—See Chateaubriand, vol. i. pp. 259—266. Dr. Dwight affirms, that there is not the least mixture of the Iroquois with the Algonquin or Mohekaneew dialects, as spoken by any tribe of either nation.



the fact, and gloried in having fought their way to their present possessions. This circumstance is rendered probable by their being found in the midst of a widely extended nation, with whom they appear to have had no other connexion than that of wars, conquests, and treaties, their language being totally distinct. Having been driven by the Algonquins (or Adirondacks) from their settlements between the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain, they appear to have descended the Susquehanna to its mouth ; and, at the era of William Penn's arrival in 1682, had made the Lenapies or Delawares their tributaries. The Mohawks at the same time prosecuted their conquests along the Hudson ; and such was the terror they inspired, that the Indian women on the coast of New England, used to hush their crying children by telling them, "the Mohawks are coming." At subsequent periods, they were a dreadful scourge to the Canadian French, and at times brought them to the borders of extermination. The Iroquois claimed their descent from the turtle, the bear, and the wolf ; but the turtle is held in pre-eminent veneration, and occupies, in their rude cosmogony, a place analogous to that which is assigned to it in the Hindoo fables. Their mythology is, in fact, Dr. Dwight says, truly Hindoo.\* There seems little room to doubt, nevertheless, that they arrived in North America by the Straits of Behring. Like the inhabitants of the islands in those seas, they sacrifice the dog, and eat of the victim. Their reverence for the turtle, in whatever way explained, is a

\* Dwight, vol. iv. pp. 190—291. Possibly, the learned Writer suggests, in a less rude state of society, their ancestors bore images of the turtle, wolf, and bear on their standards, and the memory of this fact may have descended to us in this distorted fable. That they were *noms de guerre* assumed by their chiefs, is more likely still. Yet, this will not explain the cosmogonic legend.



circumstance, however, deserving of some attention, in reference to their original country and national relations.

The four most considerable aboriginal nations inhabiting the states east of the Mississippi, are, the Creeks or Muskogeas, the Choctaws or Flat-heads, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees. They are found within the limits of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee; and amount together to about 50,000 souls. The Chickasaw language, according to Chateaubriand, is a dialect of the Natchez; and the Muskogee appears to be either the same as the Natchez or another dialect.\* The idioms spoken by all these southern tribes, is designated by Humboldt as the Floridian; and it is probable that the various nations of Louisiana belong to the same family.† Of the dialects spoken by the Missouri and other more western tribes, little is known. The Ottoes (Wah-tohtana or Wadooktodas) a branch of the ancient Missouries, who are said to inherit the enterprising and warlike character of their ancestors, still preserve the lofty and sonorous language of that tribe."‡ The remnant of the Missouries, reduced to about

\* The Algonquin was spoken by the natives of Virginia, beyond which, in the Carolinas, the Chickasaw prevailed. This language, Chateaubriand says, is destitute of the *r*, except in words borrowed from the Algonquin. It is singular, that *l* and *r* have been supposed to be wanting in the alphabet of the Mohekaneews, but erroneously.—Dwight, vol. i. p. 96. Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 257. The Choctaws are of the same race as the Chickasaws.

† Warden states, that the *Caddoquies* or *Cados* of Louisiana, a tribe once famous for their valour, but now reduced to a small remnant, speak a language common to most of the tribes of Louisiana. The Alabamas and Apalaches are said to be emigrants from Florida. A tribe of Choctaws inhabit the banks of the Sabine.

‡ Warden, vol. iii. p. 555. Major Pike calls the language of the Winnebago Missouries, the Zoto; and says, it is the same as that of the Ottoes.



thirty families, live in friendship with the Ottoes, under the protection of the Sioux.\* The Osage Indians, the Konzas (or Kansas), the Ioways (or Aiwais), the Winnebagoes (or Ochangras), the Omawhahs (or Mahaws), and the Puncas, all speak dialects of the same language; and their similarity of manners and customs leaves no room to doubt that they are originally of the same family. These tribes have a tradition, that their fathers came from beyond the lakes; and all accounts seem to agree, that they have migrated from the north and west.† The three tribes of Pawnees, whose villages are on the borders of the Platte River, speak a strongly guttural dialect, approaching nearer to that of the Sioux, than to the

\* Warden, vol. iii. p. 555. The Missouries, Mr. James says, were formerly settled near the mouth of that river, but gradually moved up it to the mouth of Grand River. About thirty years ago, they were conquered and dispersed by a combination of Sauks, Foxes, and other tribes. Five or six lodges joined the Osages; two or three took refuge with the Konzas; and the chief part of the remainder amalgamated themselves with the Otoes.—James, vol. ii. pp. 63, 4.

† Pike, p. 172. James, vol. ii. p. 65; iii. pp. 106—239. According to the information collected by the latter Traveller, this great nation originally resided somewhere to the northward of the great lakes; and on their emigration southward, a large band called *Horo-ge* (Fish-eaters), separated from the main body, and established themselves on the margin of a lake; this band is now called Winnebagoes. Another band separated from them on the Mississippi, who received the name of *Iu-ho-ja* (Grey Snow), which they still retain, but are better known by that of Ioways and Nez-percés. A third band, who detached themselves from the migrating nation, were the *Neotachas* or *Neogenese*, known to us as the Missouries. The Ottoes also separated from the nation on the Mississippi.—James, vol. ii. pp. 61, 2. The Mahaws were once a numerous tribe, and cultivated corn, beans, and tobacco. Two-thirds of the nation were destroyed by the small pox in 1802; and war with the Sioux have reduced them still further; they now number only about 1500. Pike, p. 173. Warden, vol. iii. p. 556. James, vol. iii. p. 244.



**Osage.** Their figure, Major Pike says, is slim, and their high cheek-bones clearly indicate their Asiatic origin. They are distinguished by having, till very recently, retained the barbarous rite of an annual propitiatory sacrifice of a human victim to the Great Star (Venus), with a view to secure a favourable harvest. Major Long states, that their language "differs radically" from that of the Missouri tribes.\* The Ricaras or Rickarees, who now reside on the banks of the Missouri, between the Sioux and Mandan nations, are considered by Mr. James as undoubtedly a branch of the Pawnee stock. Though thinned by the small-pox, they still amount to about 3000 souls. They are partly agricultural, and are said to have a method of preserving corn during several years in subterranean depositories. Mr. James is inclined to refer to the same nation, an excavation near Shell Creek, which is supposed to have been a military work.† The Mandans, like the Awahawas or Shoe Indians, are a branch of the Quehatsa or Crow nation. The Menomeni or Fols Avoine nation are a small tribe much respected for their bravery and independent spirit: they are firm friends to the whites, and have the good fortune to be held in high estimation by both Sioux and Chippeways. They understand and use the Algonquin, but are said to have a peculiar language which no white man has hitherto acquired. Their hunting-grounds are the same as those of the Winnebagoes; besides which, they frequently hunt near the Raven river, the debateable territory between the Algonquins and the Sioux.

The sources of the Platte, the Arkansa, and Red

\* Pike, p. 192. James, vol. ii. p. 80; vol. iii. p. 241.

† Warden, p. 558. James, vol. ii. p. 71.



River are frequented by the nomade tribes of **Kaskaia** (or **Bad-hearts**), the **Kiawas**, the **Shiennes** (**Chiens**, **Shawhays**, or **Dog Indians**), the **Arrapahoes**, the **Bald-heads**, and the **Shoshones** or **Snake Indians**, who subsist almost entirely upon the flesh of the bison, which they hunt for its skin. They are perpetually at war with all the **Missouri Indians** as far down as the **Osages**. The **Kaskaia** and **Kiaway** dialects are peculiarly difficult to be acquired, or even understood; and individuals of these several nations are accustomed to hold communication chiefly by the common language of signs. The **Kiawas** are said to be the remains of the **Great Padouca** nation, who, mounted on fleet horses, and armed with the bow and lance, sometimes extended their predatory excursions into **New Mexico**. Under the various denominations of **Snake Indians**, **Camanches**, **Ietans**, **Padoucas**, **Apaches**, **Utahs**, **Tetaws**, &c., nomade hordes of the same equestrian nation seem to be included.\* The **Black-feet Indians**, the **Blood Indians**, and the **Picaneaux** are mentioned by **Mackenzie** as a people who deal in horses, and take them upon the war parties towards **Mexico**. They appeared to be travelling north-westward; while the **Sarsees**, a tribe of **Chepewyans**, were, on the contrary, advancing from the north-westward, and the **Knisteneaux** were continuing to be invaders of the country from the eastward.† Such are the cross migrations which are continually taking place in the **American Tatar**y, and which set all history at defiance.

\* **Warden**, vol. iii. pp. 560—562. **James**, vol. iii. pp. 42, 52, 244. **Pike**, pp. 214—336. The latter Traveller represents the language of the **Appaches** of **New Mexico** to be the same as that of the "**Lee Pans**;" (whether the **Pawnees** are meant, is not clear;) and says, that it extends from **Louisiana** to the **Sea of California**.

† **Mackenzie**, p. lxxxl.



In this general view of the American population, we have confined ourselves to what will perhaps be regarded as a dry catalogue of the numerous nations, reserving for another place the description of their common or distinguishing manners and customs. We have refrained also from entering into any historical speculations, which, in the present state of our knowledge, can be nothing better than vague conjecture. As a specimen of these, the opposite opinions of Mr. Jefferson and M. Humboldt may deserve to be cited. The former, misled by imperfect information and fallacious reasoning, supposes, that there will probably be found twenty in America, for one in Asia, of languages radically distinct, having no resemblance to one another; and he argues, that, while a separation into dialects may be the work of a few ages only, "for two dialects to recede from one another till they have lost all vestiges of their common origin, must require an immense course of time; perhaps, not less than many people give to the age of the earth." His conclusion is, that "a greater number of those radical languages having taken place among the red men of America, proves them to be of greater antiquity than those of Asia." \* Were the fact as stated, it would prove nothing of the kind, but would only indicate the greater barbarism of the American nations, of which the rapid multiplication of dialects is the natural and constant result. Humboldt, on the other hand, thinks that the researches of MM. Heckewelder and Duponceau have rendered it probable, "that the tongues scattered heretofore over more than 120,000 square leagues, between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains, the Lakes of Canada and the Caribbean

\* Jefferson's Notes, p. 164.



See, are reducible to a very small number of radicals, of which the Lenni-lenape (Delaware), the Iroquois, and the Floridian are the most important.\* The philological investigations of Mr. Heckewelder were by no means, however, sufficiently comprehensive to warrant this premature conclusion. His personal intercourse appears to have been confined to a small band of the Delaware tribe, whose language is but a dialect of the Algonquin, and the great Indian family is arbitrarily brought to this Delaware standard. Not only was the worthy Missionary's information limited, but his predilections for his favourite tribe have given a bias and character to his researches, by which their value is materially lessened. His History of the Indian Nations is half romance; and though his veracity is unquestionable, his easy faith and feeble judgement render him an unsafe authority.† Yet, we find M. Humboldt deferring to it in the following terms. "According to the traditions collected by Mr. Heckewelder, the country east of the Mississippi was heretofore inhabited by a powerful nation of gigantic stature, called *Tallegewi*, *Talligeu*, or *Alli-*

\* Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. vi. p. 359. M. Chateaubriand says: "Four principal languages seem to divide North America; the Algonquin and the Huron in the North and East, the Sioux in the West, and the Chickasaw in the South."—*Travels*, vol. I. p. 255.

† See the able article already cited, in *North American Review*, No. lix., in which Heckewelder's History is examined at some length. "In the integrity of his purposes, in the blamelessness of his life and conversation, and in his devotion to the great objects before him," it is remarked, the venerable Moravian Missionary "approached the models of the primitive ages." But it was at the extremity of a long and useful life, with enfeebled faculties, that he undertook his task; "and it should excite no surprise, that his work is almost a collection of anecdotes to which he had listened in his earlier life with the faith and fondness of a Delaware."



*ghewi*, and which gave its name to the Alleghanian (Allighewian) mountains. The Allighewies were more celebrated than any of the other tribes found in the northern climates by the Europeans of the sixteenth century. They inhabited towns founded on the banks of the Mississippi; and the fortifications which now excite the astonishment of travellers, were constructed by them, in order to defend themselves against the Lenni-lenapes (Delawares) who came from the west, and were allied at that period with the Mengwies (Iroquois). It may be supposed, that this invasion of a barbarous people changed the political and moral state of those countries. The Allighewies were vanquished by the Lenni-lenapes after a long struggle. In their flight towards the south, they gathered together the bones of their relations in separate *tumuli*: they descended the Mississippi, and what became of them is not known.\* This powerful people, the learned Traveller is inclined to regard as having been of the Toltec or Aztec race; and he thinks it probable, that the reported invasion of the Lenni-lenapes, and the destruction of the power of the Allighewies, were connected with the migration of the Caribs, who, according to some traditions, reached South America from Florida. The almost colossal stature and physical as well as intellectual superiority of the Caribbees of the Orinoco, appear to have furnished the grounds of this conjecture. It is, however, fatal to this hypothesis, that the bones found in the *tumuli* of the transalleghanian country, belong, for the most part, to a stunted race, of lower stature than the present tribes of Canada and the Missouri.†

\* Humboldt, vol. vi. p. 327.

† The skeletons found in our mounds, says Mr. Atwater, a learned American archæologist, "never belonged to a people like



A learned American antiquary (Dr. Mitchell) believes, that the skeletons found in the caverns of Kentucky and Tennessee, are those of a Malay tribe, who arrived on the western coast after having traversed the Pacific, and were destroyed by the ancestors of the present Indians. The same learned Writer supposes, however, with Mr. De Witt Clinton, that the fortifications and *tumuli* found in the state of Ohio, are the works of the Scandinavian nations who, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, visited the coast of Greenland, Newfoundland, and a part of North America.\* The absence of all inscriptions is, perhaps, a sufficient confutation of this last hypothesis, unsupported as it is by the shadow of historic evidence. The wrappers of feathers, in which some of the bodies were found enveloped in the caverns of Kentucky, are precisely similar to those mentioned by American navigators as obtained in the Sandwich and Feejee islands, and in Nootka Sound; and the best defined specimens of art among the antiquities of Ohio and Kentucky, are clearly of a Polynesian character. Supposing that the tradition of the Delawares respecting the expulsion of the Alligewies, is entitled to any confidence, the retreat of the vanquished towards the south, M. Malte Brun remarks, does not necessarily imply that they retired into Mexico, or even into

our Indians." The latter are a tall, rather slender, straight-limbed people. Those to whom the skeletons belonged, were short and thick; they were rarely five feet high, and few were six; their faces were short and broad, their eyes very large, and with broad chins. These characteristics, M. Malte Brun remarks, appertain neither to the Algonquin, the Iroquois, nor the Missouri race, but approximate closely to those of the natives of Florida and Brazil. —Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 347. Humboldt, vol. vi. p. 328.

\* Humboldt, vol. vi. p. 319. The tradition respecting the expulsion of the Alligewies, places it in the twelfth century.



what is now called Florida. They might have crossed the Mississippi into the western territory. Neither the *tumuli* nor the forts, however, indicate a population very numerous or powerful, or very highly advanced in civilization beyond the present race. The Omawhaws bury their dead in a bison robe, and place in the grave various articles for the use of the deceased; after which, they raise a *tumulus* over the grave, the magnitude of which is proportioned to the rank of the deceased.\* To the Rickarees, Mr. James is disposed to ascribe the construction of a supposed military intrenchment, which has already, through ignorance of its origin, become an object of superstitious reverence to the natives. The Menomoni nation seem to bear the marks of being descended from a superior race. "Travellers," says M. Malte Brun, "describe with delight their fine features. Their physiognomy expresses at once gentleness and independence. They have a clearer complexion than the other indigenous tribes, with large, expressive eyes and fine teeth; they are well-formed, of middle stature; have much intelligence, and simplicity of manners. They dwell in spacious huts formed with red mats, like those of the Illinois, repose upon skins, and drink the syrup of the maple. They are friends to the whites, and speak an unknown idiom."† In this description, several of the traits so closely resemble those which Mr. Atwater ascribes to the aboriginal inhabitants of Ohio, whose remains have been discovered in the funereal mounds, as to tempt the conjecture that they denote the same race. If so, they may be the remains of the Allighewies of

\* James, vol. ii. p. 1.

† Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 210. Can this tribe have had a *mestizo* origin? Their language at all events deserves investigation.



Mr. Heckewelder ;—or, possibly, the fair-complexioned and red-haired Indians, whom Captain Isaac Stewart affirms to have conversed with him in *Welsh* ! \* But the subject of American antiquities belongs to another place. We must now proceed to describe the grand features of the physical geography of this vast region.

M. Malte Brun describes the American continent as exhibiting, in the general outline of the globe, “a continuation of that belt of elevated land, which, under the names of the plateau of Caffraria, of Arabia, of Persia, and of Mongolia, forms the spine of the ancient continent, and, scarcely interrupted at Behring’s Straits, constitutes also the Rocky or Columbian Mountains, the plateau of Mexico, and the great chain of the Andes. This zone of mountains and plateaus, like a vast ring, crumbled and fallen back upon its encircled planet, presents, generally speaking, a declivity shorter and more rapid on that side of the basin of the great Austro-Oriental Ocean of which the Indian Sea constitutes a part, than on the side of the Atlantic or Polar Seas.” † The Rocky Mountains (called also the Mexican Andes) rise abruptly, however, out of the plains which extend along their eastern base, towering into high peaks, visible at the distance of more than a hundred miles eastward. The breadth of the range varies from fifty to a hundred miles. ‡ They consist of ridges, knobs, and peaks variously disposed, among which are interspersed many broad and fertile valleys. Between the Arkansa and the

\* Humboldt, vol. vi. p. 325.

† Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 2. “This correspondence and continuity of the two great islands of the globe, lead us to reject the idea of the more recent origin of America.”

‡ James, vol. iii. p. 238. Malte Brun says, their base is 300 miles in breadth.



Platte, in latitude  $38^{\circ} 45'$  N., rises what has been considered as the highest peak, and which has received the name of James's Peak from the conductor of the party by which it was ascended. Its elevation above the common level, as ascertained by trigonometrical measurement, is about 8500 feet; and its supposed elevation above the ocean, 11,500 feet; 3000 feet being assumed as the aggregate elevation of the base of the mountains above the ocean.\* Other peaks, however, are believed to attain a higher elevation, estimated at not less than 12,500 feet above the level of the sea. The mountains are clad with a scattered growth of scrubby pines, cedar, oak, and furze, and exhibit a very rugged and broken appearance. The rocks of which they are mainly composed, are of primitive formation; but a deep crust of secondary rocks appears to recline against the eastern side of the mountains, extending many hundred feet upward from their base. These, however, are chiefly sandstones, of granitic origin, consisting of rounded fragments of rocks that appear to have constituted part of the primitive mountains;† and beds of loose sand and gravel are still constantly accumulating, formed in part from the disintegration of the sandstone and amygdaloid, and partly by the action of the torrents which are constantly bringing down fragments from the primitive rocks. The absence of any limestone formation, is a distinguishing characteristic of this region as far as explored.

\* James, vol. iii. pp. 238, 265.

† These secondary formations are,—1. red sandstone; 2. argillaceous or grey sandstone; 3. green-stone and gray-stone; 4. amygdaloid, forming the newest flötz trap formation; 5. sand and gravel. The angle of inclination of the strata of sandstone, often approaches  $90^{\circ}$ , and is very rarely less than  $45^{\circ}$ .



The tract of sandstone which skirts the eastern boundary of the range, and which appears to belong to that immense secondary formation occupying the valley of the Mississippi, abounds with scenery of a grand and interesting character. Amid the highly inclined naked rocks which, for the most part, these inferior ridges present, on the side next to the primitive range, from which they appear to have been broken off, numerous conical hills and mounds are interspersed, clothed with verdure to their summits: the deep green of their small and almost procumbent cedars and junipers, in contrast with the less intense colours of various species of deciduous foliage, acquires new beauty from being placed as a margin to the glowing red and yellow surfaces of the precipitous rocks.\*

Respecting the interior of the country to the north of the sources of the Missouri, and north-west of Lake Superior, little satisfactory information has been obtained; but the Rocky Mountains are known to continue in an uninterrupted chain, in a general direction of N.N.W. and S.S.E., to a point beyond the parallel of  $65^{\circ}$  N., near the mouth of Mackenzie's River. Though declining in elevation, they retain a character in other respects entirely similar. It would appear also, that the secondary formation extends uninterrupted along the base of the Rocky Mountains, at least as far as the sources of the Saskatchewan, in latitude  $52^{\circ}$ , where coal was observed by Mackenzie; spreading eastward to the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and knowing, perhaps, no other limits than the Atlantic mountains and the northern ocean.†

\* James, vol. iii. pp. 238; 282, 294.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 314—318. In the London edition, of which



No part of the earth, probably, it has been remarked, "presents a greater degree of simplicity and uniformity in the structure and conformation of its surface, than North America. The mountain ranges are here distinct, forming each its own particular system, and preserving severally, through their whole extent, a similarity in external appearance, as well as in the structure and aggregation of the various rocks of which they are composed. The outlines of a physical delineation of North America would present, first, the great chain of the Rocky Mountains, evidently a continuation of the Andes of the southern hemisphere, stretching parallel to the direction of the western coast, from the Isthmus of Panama to the northern ocean. Their summits, penetrating far into the regions of perpetual winter, look down upon the vast plains of the Mississippi and its tributaries; in which we distinguish a comparatively inconsiderable range of rocky hills, commencing near the confluence of the Missouri, and running south-west of the Gulf of Mexico, near the estuary of the Rio del Norte. Beyond these, the surface subsides to a plain stretching eastward to the commencement of the great chain of the Alleghanies.

we are compelled to make use, the direction of the range is stated to be nearly N. N. E. and S. S. W.; an obvious error; and the Writer is made to say, that "it is improbable that secondary formations extend along the base of the Rocky Mountains through their whole course;"—"not improbable," must have been the true reading. "A view of the character and direction of the several large rivers which traverse the region about Hudson's Bay, and the number and position of the small lakes which abound in every part of it, afford at least," it is remarked, "presumptive evidence, that it is an extensive plain little inclined in any direction." "Dreary masses of sandstone stratified horizontally," form "the rugged coast of the North Georgian Archipelago;" and clay-slate and slaty sandstone are the prevailing rocks in Melville Island.—Malte Brun, vol. v. pp. 89, 90.



This range, far less elevated than that of the Rocky Mountains, traverses the continent in a direction nearly parallel to the Atlantic ocean, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the N.E., to the confluence of the Alabama and Tombighee rivers in the S.W. Compared to the Rocky Mountains, this range is without summits, presenting, instead of conical peaks, long and level ridges, rising in no point to the inferior limit of perpetual frost, and scarcely in any instance reaching that degree of elevation which is incompatible with the growth of forests." \*

The Alleghanies are, in fact, M. Malte Brun remarks, not so properly a chain of mountains, as a long plateau created with several low chains of hills, separated from each other by wide and elevated valleys. East of the Hudson, the Alleghanies consist chiefly of granite hills with rounded summits, often covered to a great height with bogs and turf, and distributed in irregular groupes without any marked direction. Some peaks of the Green Mountains in Vermont, and of the White Mountains in New Hampshire, rise to the height of 5000 or 6000 feet above the level of the sea. After we pass the Hudson, the structure of the Alleghanies appears to change. In Pennsylvania and Virginia, they assume the form of long parallel ridges, varying in height from 2500 to 4000 feet, and occupying a breadth of 100 miles. In Tennessee, where they terminate, they again lose the form of continuous chains, and break into groupes of isolated mountains, touching at their base, some of which attain an elevation of 5000 or 6000 feet.†

\* Report of exploring Party, James, vol. iii. p. 272. The inferior limit of perpetual snow, as estimated by Humboldt for the latitude of 40°, is 9846 feet above the sea.

† Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 152.



In many particulars, there is a manifest resemblance between the Alleghanies and the comparatively inconsiderable groupe known by the name of the Ozark mountains, which, running in a nearly parallel direction, form an angle of about  $40^{\circ}$  with the great western range. This chain of low mountains, which is penetrated by two branches of the Mississippi, the Arkansas and Red River, was, till within these few years, almost entirely unknown. They extend between six and seven hundred miles in length, by about one hundred in breadth, and their elevation varies from 1000 to 2000 feet above the level of the sea. So far as hitherto explored, the granites and primitive rocks are found at the lowest parts, as in the Alleghanies, while the most elevated are composed of secondary and recent formations, the horizontal sandstone and strata of compact limestone forming the highest summits.\* The reverse of this is observable in the Rocky Mountains, where the granite surpasses in elevation, as well as in extent, all the other formations. The eastern base of this great range extends, in the parallel of  $38^{\circ}$ , as far as longitude  $106^{\circ}$  W.; between which and the base of the Ozark mountains in longitude  $94^{\circ}$ , there intervenes a bare and dreary plain, extending over nearly twelve degrees of longitude, destitute of timber, scorched in summer, and in winter traversed by the howling and frozen blasts which descend from the Rocky Mountains.† To the west of this range,

\* James, vol. iii. p. 274. "It is well known," says the Writer, "that from the primitive gneiss rock at Philadelphia, there is a gradual ascent, across strata more and more recent, to the rocks of the coal formation about the summit of the Alleghanies. Some of the granitic mountains of New England are far surpassed in elevation by the neighbouring hills and ridges of mica slate, talcose rocks, or even more recent aggregates."

† This region, it is remarked, is unfitted alike by the barrenness



between them and the coast of the Pacific, from which they are distant between 500 and 600 miles, there is another chain of mountains of considerable elevation, of which little is yet known.

Within the great basin of the Mississippi, there are, in fact, no fewer than three distinct ranges of mountainous country; the first, the Ozark Mountains, already mentioned, stretching north-eastward from the province of Texas till they terminate in the high lands on the lower part of the Missouri; the second, the Black Hills, commencing on the southern fork or Padouca branch of the Platte river, about 100 miles E. of the Rocky Mountains, and stretching north-eastward towards the great northerly bend of the Missouri; and the third, the Wisconsin Hills, commencing on the river of that name, near the Portage, and extending northerly to Lake Superior. In the parallel of  $41^{\circ}$ , no mountain, scarcely a hill, occurs between the Rocky Mountains and the Alleghanies. But, at no great distance N. of that parallel, low ranges begin to appear in the region south-west of Lake Michigan, connected, seemingly, with the Ozark Mountains; but, in point of elevation, altogether inconsiderable. "Although many have supposed," says Major Long, "that the waters of the Mississippi are separated from those running north-westwardly into the Pacific Ocean and north-east-

of its soil, its ungenial climate, and other physical disadvantages, to become the residence of a fixed and numerous population. "The immense grassy plains of the southern and eastern portions, are adapted to the feeding of cattle and horses; and it is not improbable, that the countless herds of bisons and wild horses will soon give place to domesticated animals. The coal, salt, plaster, and iron, which constitute the mineral wealth of this portion of territory, lose much of their value on account of their remoteness from navigable streams."—James, vol. iii. p. 297..



wardly into the Atlantic, by a mountainous range of country, yet, from the best information that can be had, the fact is quite otherwise. The old and almost forgotten statement, of savage origin, that four of the largest rivers on the continent have their sources in the same plain, is entitled to far more credit. The rivers alluded to, are, the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, the Saskashawin, and the Oregon or Mackenzie's River. Agreeably to the accounts of Colonel Dixon and others who have traversed the country situated between the Missouri and the Ossinaboin (a branch of Red River of Hudson's Bay), no elevated ridge is to be met with; but, on the contrary, tributaries to both these streams take their rise in the same champaign, and wind their way in various directions to their far distant estuaries. Judging from the maps that have been given of the country near the sources of the Mississippi, and of the region northward of the Lakes, as well as from the accounts of the travellers who have penetrated many parts of those countries, the same remarks appear equally applicable to a large portion of the whole. The water-courses are represented as chains of lakes of various magnitudes, while lakes and stagnant pools are scattered in almost every direction, without ridges or perceptible declivities to shew the direction in which they are drained." \*

The Des Pleines, one of the heads of the Illinois, rises in the country between the Mississippi and Lake Michigan, and pursuing a south-easterly course, approaches within twelve miles of that lake. "The inter-

\* James, vol. III. p. 261. Mackenzie, speaking of a boat-communication between Lake Superior and Lake Winipeg, through what is called the Nipigan country, says: "In short, the country is so broken by lakes and rivers, that people may find their way in canoes in any direction they please."—(p. LX.)



mediate land is a level prairie, stretching in every direction as far as the eye can reach. Its extreme elevation above the surface of the lake, is seventeen feet; and that feeble barrier is all that is interposed between this mighty mass of water and the rich valley of the Mississippi, which it overhangs, like an avalanche on the summit of the Alps." \*

It has long been known, that boats can pass by water from the Illinois to Lake Michigan. An explanation of this singular fact, is given by the last cited Writer from personal observation. Between the Des Pleines and Lake Michigan, but to the east of the Portage path, there is an extensive morass, called the Saganashkee marsh. This, in a wet season, assumes the appearance of a lake, the surface of which, however, is so entirely overspread with the broad leaves and yellow flower of the large water-lily, that it would be difficult for a boat, without a skilful pilot, to find her way through it. "This lake generally discharges itself into the Des Pleines; but, when that river is

\* North American Review, No. lix. p. 361. "There is not, perhaps, on the globe," remarks this Writer, "a spot where such a mighty physical revolution could be produced with so little human labour, as by opening a communication between Lake Michigan and some of the upper tributaries of the Illinois. It would be a matter of curious speculation, to calculate the consequences of turning to the Gulf of Mexico, one of those immense reservoirs which are the fountains of the St. Lawrence. The Delta of the Mississippi would be inundated and destroyed, and its low bottoms overflowed by a deluge whose extent and duration no man can estimate. A gradual diminution would take place in the waters of Lake Michigan, which would be felt in Huron and Erie; and Chicago would present some of the imposing features of the entrance into the Niagara river." It has been proposed to open a canal between the Chicago and the Illinois. The elevation of the head of the latter above the level of the ocean, is assumed by Major Long to be, in round numbers, 450 feet; about 120 feet below the surface of Lake Erie.—James, vol. iii. p. 265. ..



high, its waters fill the channel of communication, and flow into the lake. The *voyageur* enters this channel, and follows the track made by some other boat; or works his own way, slowly and laboriously. As he approaches the natural termination of the marsh, the water becomes more and more shallow, and his progress more and more difficult. He at length arrives at the boundary, and finds himself at the summit level of the country. An inclined plane of seven miles in extent, and with a depression of seventeen feet, stretches between him and Lake Michigan. And we very much doubt, whether the water of the Des Plaines ever surmounted this summit level, and mingled with the Chicago, until this route had been frequently passed. The communication at present existing, has apparently been effected, in a long course of years, by drawing the boats through the mud at the extremity of the marsh, and thus forming a small channel, which is soon increased by the velocity of the current, occasioned by the rapid descent of the country towards the lake. This channel is called the Rigolet, and bears every appearance of the origin we have assigned to it. A boat descends it with great rapidity, and about two miles from the marsh, enters the Chicago creek, a deep and sluggish stream, at this point on a level with the lake." \*

What has been called the valley or basin of the Mississippi, might then, it has been remarked, with almost equal accuracy be called the basin of the St. Lawrence, of the Saskatchewan, or of Mackenzie's River; since these different channels serve as drains to the same immense plain extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Northern Sea. From this remarkable

\* North American Review, No. lix. pp. 361, 2. ;



peculiarity in the configuration of the new continent, the vast extent and unbroken continuity of its low and level plains, results the amazing length of the rivers which water this part of the globe, and many of which mingle, in the early part of their course, those waters which are destined for different estuaries.\*

Before we proceed to give a more particular description of the mighty streams which water this region, the chain of lakes, or fresh-water seas, which separate the United States from British America, first claim our attention. These are five in number, namely, Lake Superior, Lake Huron, Lake Michigan, Lake Erie, and Lake Ontario.

Lake Superior, the largest and most northern of these lakes, (formerly known under the names of Lake Tracy and Lake Condé,) is situated between latitude  $46^{\circ} 30'$  and  $49^{\circ}$  N., and longitude  $84^{\circ}$  and  $92^{\circ} 10'$  W., and forms the largest body of fresh water on the globe. Its greatest length from E. to W. is 410 miles; its greatest breadth, 120 miles; and its circumference has been variously estimated at 1200 and 1500 miles.† It receives the waters of forty different streams, which it discharges at its south-eastern extremity, through the straits of St. Mary into Lake Huron. It has been conjectured, indeed,

\* Thus, the Orinoco and the Rio Negro, a tributary to the Amazons, communicate by the Cassiquiare; and a similar branch unites the Beni and the Madera. The head streams of the Paraguay, it is also believed, communicate, in the rainy season, with those of the Amazons.

† According to Mackenzie, following its shores and bays, 1200 miles. According to Faden's calculation, (Description of Canada, 1813,) 1525 miles.—Mackenzie, p. xl. Warden, vol. i. p. 60. Malte Brun says, "more than 500 leagues in circumference." In Carey and Lea's Atlas, this lake is said to be 350 miles long, (its mean length probably being intended,) and its mean breadth, 100.



that not more than a tenth part passes through this channel, the rest escaping by evaporation.\* Along the northern shore, there is great depth of water. The rocks rise from 300 to 1500 feet, and, during a strong wind, render the navigation dangerous: it would be still more so, were it not for the harbours formed by numerous islands near the entrance of inlets and bays, where vessels find shelter. The southern side of the lake is a sandy beach, without any bay or inlet, but interspersed with limestone rocks, rising 100 feet above the water, and rendering the navigation not less dangerous. The largest island, called Isle Royale, situated near the north-western coast, is 100 miles in length by about 40 in breadth. The lake abounds with fish, which constitutes the principal food of the Algonquin Indians on its borders.

Lake Huron (formerly called Lake Algonquin or Orleans) lies between latitude  $42^{\circ} 30'$  and  $46^{\circ} 30'$  N., and longitude  $80^{\circ}$  and  $84^{\circ}$  W. Its length from east to west, is 220 miles; its breadth varies from 60 to 200 miles; and its circumference is about 1100 miles; the total extent of surface being estimated at 20,000 square miles. Near the centre, its depth is said to be unfathomable. Besides the waters of Lake Superior, which it receives, through a series of rapid descents,

\* Warden, vol. i. p. 61.—When the wind blows from the east, the waters are driven against the high rocks of the northern and western shore, where they form a thick vapour resembling rain; and this action of the wind creates an irregular ebb and flow. This never exceeds ten or twelve inches; but the strong traces of the water on the rocks of the shore, shew that, at no very remote period, they were elevated six feet above the present level. Some years ago, Mackenzie states, the waters suddenly withdrew near the Great Portage; then rushed back with great velocity above the common mark; and, after rising and falling during several hours, they settled at their usual level.—Mackenzie, pp. xlii. xliii.



at its north-western extremity, those of Lake Michigan discharge themselves into it, on the western side, by a channel six miles in length, called the Straits of Michillimackinac, at the mouth of which is the island of the same name, situated in latitude  $45^{\circ} 54'$ .\* On the eastern side, it receives, through the channel of the Swan River, the waters of Lake Simcoe; and on the northern coast, by the French River, those of Lake Nipissing, which is 25 leagues in length. Several other streams, issuing from small lakes, run also into the eastern side. The only outlet of the united waters of Lakes Superior, Michigan, and Huron, is the rapid river of St. Clair, which, by the accession of other streams, is changed into a lake of the same name, about 90 miles in circumference. A strait, from half a mile to three miles in breadth, called the Detroit, unites this basin with Lake Erie.

Lake Michigan (formerly called Lake Illinois and Lake Dauphin) extends from the western angle of Lake Huron in a southerly direction, and is separated from Lake Superior by a tongue of land about 30 leagues in length. It lies wholly within the territory of the United States, between the parallels of  $42^{\circ}$  and  $46^{\circ}$ . Its length, from north to south, is 260 miles by a mean breadth of 50, and its circumference is 945 miles, containing an area of 10,368,000 acres. Its waters are said to be unfathomable. On the N.W.

\* " Before the late war, the island of Michillimackinac was the great place of resort among Indian traders and the factors of Montreal, who met there annually about the 1st of May, and remained two months for the exchange of peltries with the manufactures of Europe. After the capitulation of General Hull, Fort Michillimackinac, the most northerly military post in the United States, fell into the hands of the English, who were obliged to abandon it after the capture of their fleet on Lake Erie (in 1813)."—Warden, vol. I. p. 70.



side, it branches out through a narrow strait into two bays: the most northerly is called Noquet's Bay; the other, Green Bay or Puant's, from the Indian tribe that inhabit its borders. The latter, which is from 25 to 30 leagues in depth, communicates with Lake Winnebago, situated about 30 miles in a southerly direction, and formed by Fox River; between the head of which and the Wisconsin River, (a tributary to the Mississippi,) there is a portage of only three miles.\* At the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, is the Chicago creek, already mentioned, by which, in the rainy season, the head-waters of the Illinois communicate with the lake; but the bar at the mouth of the creek, does not admit boats drawing above two feet water. A number of streams flow into the lake on both the western and the eastern sides. It abounds, like the others, with excellent fish.

Lake Erie, the fourth lake in extent, is situated between lat.  $41^{\circ} 30'$  and  $43^{\circ}$  N., and long.  $78^{\circ} 48'$  and  $83^{\circ}$  W. It is of an oval form, 230 miles in length from S.W. to N.E., by a mean breadth of 45, and 610 miles in circumference. Its depth varies from 40 to 300 feet. At Detroit, there are eighteen fathoms water, and it is navigated by vessels of 60 or 70 tons. High, craggy cliffs form the northern coast, running out into rocky promontories, some of which afford anchorage and shelter for vessels. It contains a number of islands. Like Lake Superior,

\* Warden, vol. I. pp. 71, 111. "There is, between the Illinois and Lake Michigan, in dry seasons, a portage of 3 miles; between the Illinois and the Wabash, of 15; between the De Moines, a tributary to the Mississippi, and the Missouri, 700 miles above its mouth, a portage of 6 miles; between the Wisconsin and the Fox, of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  mile; between the St. Croix and Lake Superior, 15; between St. Peter's and Red River,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ; between Corbeau and Red River, 3."



it is subject to considerable elevation and depression of its waters during the prevalence of strong winds. The elevation of Lake Erie above tide-water, has been ascertained to be 564 feet, 280 feet above the Hudson River, with which it communicates by a magnificent canal 350 miles in length ; and it is a descent of 450 feet to Lake Ontario, into which it discharges itself, at its north-eastern extremity, through the river Niagara. This is a channel 36 miles in length and three quarters of a mile in breadth, with a current running at the rate of four miles an hour : the whole mass of waters falls over a rock to the depth of 150 feet, forming the celebrated falls. On the south-west and southern shores, Lake Erie receives several navigable rivers, some of the branches of which approach those of the Wabash and Big Miami.

Lake Ontario (formerly Lake Frontenac and St. Louis), into which the Niagara descends by this " magnificent porch," is of an oval form, 160 miles in length, and between 60 and 70 at its greatest breadth, with a circumference of about 450 miles. It is situated between the parallels of 43° and 44°. By the Seneca, Onondago, or Oswego river, which falls into the lake on its southern side, it communicates with the Mohawk branch of the Hudson River through the Oneida Lake and Wood Creek. Its islands, nineteen in number, are generally fertile and well timbered. It empties itself by the great river St. Lawrence, which, after receiving the waters of Lake Champlain by the river Sorelle, of Lake Mumphremagog by the St. Francis, and of its tributary, the Ottawa, expands into a large gulf, and pours its waters into the Atlantic, after a course of 770 miles, between the parallels of 49° and 50°.



Lake Champlain\* is situated to the east of Lake Ontario, between the States of New York and Vermont. Its length from N. to S. is 160 miles: its breadth varies from one to eighteen miles. It forms a natural barrier between Canada and New York. The whole surface is generally frozen from the middle of January till the middle of April. It receives the waters of several navigable streams from the western side of the Green Mountains, and, through a natural channel, those of Lake George (*Lac du Saint Sacrement*†), the surface of which is 100 feet above the level of Lake Champlain. Lake George is 36 miles in length, by a breadth varying from one to seven. The portage between the two lakes is only a mile and a half. Between Lake George and Lake Huron is Muddy Lake, nearly 30 miles in length, and containing several small islands. Lake Mumphremagog, which discharges itself into the St. Lawrence, through the river St. Francis and Lake St. Peter's, is 40 miles in length by about three in breadth. The frontier line of the British and American territories, the 45th parallel, crosses it near the southern extremity, leaving but a small portion of its waters within the limits of the United States. Seneca Lake, on which the flourishing town of Geneva is situated, is 44 miles in length, by a breadth of from four to six. Its deep waters do not freeze during the severest cold. There is a boat communication between this lake and Schenectady, within 14 miles of the tide of the river Hudson. Cayuga Lake is nearly of the same length, and about a mile in breadth. It abounds, like Lake Seneca, with

\* So named from the discoverer, Sir Samuel Champlain, in 1608.

† So named on account of the use of its pure and limpid waters in the churches of Canada.



salmon and other fish, but its waters are shallow, and freeze in winter.\*

In what is called the North-west territory, and scarcely separated by any definable ridge from the head waters of the St. Lawrence, there is another system of lakes, which seems to make up in number and continuity for its inferior scale of magnificence. The Lake of the Woods (or Du Bois) is rendered an important point in geography, by its having been named by the American Government as the spot from which the boundary line between the United States and the British territory was to run West until it should strike the Mississippi.† It was formerly noted for the productiveness of its banks and waters, and the French had several settlements in and about it. It abounds with islands. It is formed by the River de la Pluie, issuing from the lake of that name, which is described by Mackenzie as one of the finest rivers in the North-west territory. Its banks are covered with a rich soil, clothed with groves of oak, maple, pine, and cedar. After a course of 80 miles, it falls into the Lake of the Woods, in lat. 49°.‡ This lake, discharging its waters at its northern extremity, forms the river Winipeg, a

\* Authorities, Warden, vol. 1. ch. 3; Carey and Lea's Atlas; Malte Brun, book 78; Mackenzie, *passim*.

† This, says Mackenzie, "can never happen, as the N.W. part of the Lake Du Bois is in latitude 49° 37' N., and longitude 94° 31' W.; and the northernmost branch of the source of the Mississippi is in latitude 47° 38' N., and longitude 95° 6' W."

‡ Mackenzie, p. lvii. The Lake de la Pluie, or Rainy Lake, lies to the S.E., between the Lake of the Woods and Lake Superior, being separated from the head-waters of the latter, only by a low ridge. It has already been stated, on the authority of Mackenzie, that there is a boat communication between Lake Superior and Lake Winipeg.



large body of water, broken by numerous islands, portages, and rapids.

Lake Winipic, Winnepeek, or Winipeg \* (the Lake Bourbon of the French) approaches to the magnificent scale of the Canadian lakes, being 240 miles in length, by from 50 to 100 in breadth. It lies between latitude 50° and 54°. Its banks are shaded by the sugar-maple and poplar, and it is surrounded with fertile plains, which produce the rice of Canada. It is the reservoir of several large rivers; the principal are, the Saskatchiwin, which has its source in the Rocky Mountains, the Assiniboin, or Red River,† and the river Dauphin. It discharges itself by the rivers Nelson and Severn into Hudson's Bay. In common with most of the lakes in this part, its northern banks consist of black and grey rock, while the southern shore is a low and level country, occasionally interrupted by a ridge or bank of limestone in strata, rising to the perpendicular height of from 20 to 40 feet. Where the banks are low, it is evident, in many places, that the waters have withdrawn, and never rise to the heights formerly washed by them.‡

A ridge called the Portage la Loche, 13 miles in breadth, divides the waters that discharge themselves

\* "This word is derived from *weenad*, dirty, and *neebeg*, waters; and the full name is, *Weenebeg o saugy 'egun*, lake of dirty waters. Winnebago is a term derived from the same roots, implying that the tribe who bear the name, dwell on dirty waters, in allusion to the Mississippi."—North American Review, No. ix. p. 113. Mackenzie gives *nepec* as the Knisteneaux for water.

† The eastern branch, or Red River, which flows from the S., approaches very near the head-waters of the Mississippi, there being a portage of only a mile and a half between its source and the St. Peter's. The Assiniboin joins it from the N. N. W., rising in the same mountains as the river Dauphin, as well as the Swan and Red Deer River. It is almost a continued plain of sandy soil from the Red River to the Missouri.

‡ Mackenzie, pp. lxi—vi.



into Hudson's Bay, from those which flow into the Northern Ocean. The portage is in latitude  $56^{\circ} 20' N.$ , longitude  $109^{\circ} 15' W.$  It runs S.W. until it loses its relative height between the Saskatchiwine and Elk rivers, close on the bank of the former, in latitude  $53^{\circ} 36'$ , longitude  $113^{\circ} 45'$ . It may be traced in an easterly direction towards latitude  $58^{\circ} 12'$ , longitude  $103^{\circ} 30'$ , where it appears to take its course due N., towards the Frozen Sea. "The Portage la Loche," says Mackenzie, "is of a level surface, in some parts abounding with stone; but, in general, it is an entire sand, and covered with the cypress, the pine, and the spruce fir. Within three miles of its N.W. termination, there is a small, round lake, not more than a mile in diameter. Within a mile of the termination of the Portage, is a very steep precipice, the ascent and descent of which appear to be equally impracticable in any way, as it consists of a succession of eight hills, some of which are almost perpendicular: nevertheless, the Canadians contrive to surmount all these difficulties, even with their canoes and lading." The precipice, which rises upwards of 1000 feet above the plain, commands a most extensive and romantic prospect, embracing the valley of the Swan River.\*

The last of the seven great lakes, is called Slave Lake. It lies between latitude  $60^{\circ} 38'$  and  $63^{\circ}$ , and longitude  $110^{\circ}$  and  $119^{\circ} W.$ ; being 270 miles in length, and about 1000 in circumference. It receives, by Slave River,† the waters of Lake Athapescow,

\* Mackenzie, pp. lxxxiv—vi.

† The Slave Indians having been driven from their original country by their enemies, the Knisteneaux, along the borders of this part of the Peace River, it received that title. The word by no means involves the idea of servitude, but was applied to these fugitives as a term of reproach.—Mackenzie, p. 3.



formed by the river of that name, and into which the Peace River, or Unjigah, flows, when full; \* and it discharges itself at its N.W. extremity, through Mackenzie's River, into the Frozen Ocean, in latitude  $70^{\circ}$  N. Churchill River (called also *Mississippi*, great water,) which empties itself into Hudson's Bay, is likewise connected, by means of lakes, with the river Athapescow or Elk River, which forms the lake of that name;—"an invaluable communication," Malte Brun remarks, "had it taken place in a more temperate climate." But here, even under the  $57^{\text{th}}$  parallel, the severity of the winter is extreme; and nothing can be more terrifically desolate and repulsive, than the barren and rocky shores of Hudson's Bay.

Leaving these dreary regions, we return to the American territories, to trace the course of the waters which descend into the basin of the Mexican Sea. Three lakes of inferior dimensions, in about latitude  $48^{\circ}$ ,† give rise to the Mississippi. As far as the parallel of  $37^{\circ}$ , it flows in a south-easterly direction; then sweeps towards the south-west; and afterwards pursues its course, with various windings, in a direction nearly S., to its outlet in the Gulf of Mexico, in latitude  $29^{\circ} 6'$ . Its whole length, from its source to the Gulf, is computed by Humboldt to be 560 leagues (of 20 to a degree); but, including its windings, it is supposed to be not much less than 2500

\* When it is low, the Unjigah receives the waters of Lake Athapescow. Mackenzie writes it, Athabasca. The Swan River falls into the Elk River.

† Leech Lake, the greatest, is in latitude  $47^{\circ} 38'$  N., longitude  $95^{\circ}$  W. Upper Red Cedar Lake, which is named in Carey and Lea's Atlas as the true source, is in latitude  $47^{\circ} 42'$ , longitude  $95^{\circ} 8'$ . White Bear Lake is the third.—Warden, vol. i. p. 113. In Malte Brun, it is stated to have its source in "Turtle Lake."



miles.\* At the picturesque falls of St. Anthony,† in latitude  $44^{\circ} 50'$ , it descends from the plateau in which it has its origin, to the vast plain through which it rolls its waters to the sea. Between these falls and the mouth of the Illinois, which joins it on the east side, its width is from 800 to 900 yards. It then meanders through a broad valley, from 6 to 12 or 14 miles in width, the sides of which rise in bluffs from 40 to 100 feet high. After a course of above 1500 miles, its limpid waters are blended with the turbid stream of the Missouri, which, as being the principal branch, would seem to have the best claim to give its name to their united waters. At this confluence, which takes place in latitude  $38^{\circ} 55'$ , longitude  $89^{\circ} 57' W.$ , the Mississippi is 2500 yards, or nearly half a league in breadth.

Mr. Schoolcraft, however, estimates the distance of Red Cedar Lake (which he calls Cassina Lake) from the mouth of the Mississippi, at 2978 miles, pursuing the course of the river; and, adding 60 miles for the distance to Lake La Beche, "its extreme north-western inlet," he makes the total length of the river to be not less than 3038 miles, or, in a direct line, more than half the distance from the Arctic circle to the Equator. While "its source lies in a region of almost continual winter, it enters the ocean under the latitude of perpetual verdure." He gives the following description of its course.

\* This is the estimate adopted by Malte Brun and Warden. The former states the length also at 575 leagues of 25 to a degree. In Carey and Lea's Atlas, No. 6, the Mississippi is stated to be nearly 2000 miles long; but, in No. 53, its length, including its windings, is estimated at 3000 miles.

† "After a S.E. course of about 500 miles, it reaches the falls of St. Anthony, where it descends perpendicularly 16 feet, and where are 58 feet of rapids."—Carey and Lea's Atlas.



“ Originating in a region of lakes, upon the table-land, which throw their waters north into Hudson’s Bay, south into the Gulf of Mexico, and east into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, it pursues its course to the falls of Peckagama, a distance of 230 miles, through a low prairie covered with wild rice, rushes, sword-grass, and other aquatic plants. During this distance, it is extremely devious as to course and width, sometimes expanding into small lakes, at others, narrowing into a channel of about 80 feet in width. It is about 60 feet wide on its exit from Red Cedar or Cassina Lake, with an average depth of 2 feet.

“ At the falls of Peckagama, the first rock stratum appears, and the first wooded island is seen. Here, the river has a fall of 20 feet; and from this to the falls of St. Anthony, a distance of 685 miles, exhibits its second characteristic division. At the head of the falls of Peckagama, the prairies entirely cease; and below, a forest of elm, maple, birch, oak, and ash overshadows the stream.

“ At the falls of St. Anthony, the river has a perpendicular pitch of 40 feet; and from this to its junction with the Missouri, a distance of 843 miles, it is bounded by limestone bluffs, which attain various elevations from 100 to 400 feet, and present a succession of the most sublime and picturesque views. This forms the third characteristic change of the Mississippi. The river prairies cease, and rocky bluffs commence, precisely at the falls of St. Anthony.

“ The fourth change in the physical aspect of this river, is at the junction of the Missouri; and this is a total and complete one, the character of the Mississippi being entirely lost in that of the Missouri. The latter is, in fact, much the larger stream of the



two, and carries its characteristic appearances into the ocean. The waters of the Mississippi, at its confluence with the Missouri, are moderately clear, and of a greenish hue: the Missouri is turbid and opaque, of a greyish white colour; and during its floods, which happen twice a year, communicates almost instantaneously to the combined stream its predominating qualities. The distance from the mouth of the Missouri to the Gulf of Mexico, is 1220 miles. This part of the river is more particularly characterized by snags and sawyers, falling-in banks and islands, sand-bars and mud-banks, a channel which is shifted by every flood, and a current of extreme velocity. The width of the river opposite St. Louis, is one mile; it is somewhat less at New Orleans, and still less at its embouchure." \*

The Missouri (or Missi-souri †) is formed by three head-streams of nearly equal size, issuing from different parts of the Rocky Mountains, and running S.W. and S. to the latitude of  $45^{\circ} 24'$ , longitude  $106^{\circ} 55'$ , where their waters unite. The northern branch has been named Jefferson; the western or middle, Madison; and the southern, Gallatin; in honour of those American statesmen. This confluence is 2858

\* Schoolcraft, in Hodgson's Letters from North America, vol. ii. p. 414.

† So Mackenzie writes the word; but we have been unable to ascertain its etymology. It is, however, apparent, that the name is compounded of *Missi*, great, and some other word, which may signify water. Malte Brun remarks, that the Missouri, as being the principal branch, has the best claim to the magnificent title of *Father of Waters*, conferred on the smaller branch by the Indians. Warden makes it to mean "*Mother of the Waters*." But Mississippi, as we have seen, has no such meaning, being literally "great river;" and it is not improbable, that the import of Missi-souri may be identical.



miles above its junction with the Mississippi. The course of the Missouri is north-easterly through the mountains, until it reaches the parallel of  $47^{\circ} 3'$ , (2575 miles from its mouth,\*) where its waters are precipitated over rocks which, in some places, are 80 feet in perpendicular height. Having descended 384 feet in the course of 12 miles,† the river receives the waters of the great southern branch, the Yellow Stone River (or Keheetsa), in latitude  $48^{\circ}$ , where it has reached the parallel in which the Mississippi has its source. At its furthest northern point, it receives the White-earth River flowing southward; and then winding eastward, it approaches within a mile of Mouse River, one of the heads of the Assiniboin, which flows into Lake Winipeg. In latitude  $46^{\circ} 42'$ , it forces its way through basaltic columns, which rise 800 feet above the water. Its course, from the Mandan villages, (1604 miles from its mouth,) becomes southerly as far as the mouth of White River, a distance of 474 miles; after which it again bends to the east, and continues to wind south-eastward and eastward to its junction with the Mississippi. In latitude  $41^{\circ}$ , 700 miles from the Mississippi, the Platte River falls into the Missouri, after an easterly course, from its source in the Rocky Mountains, of about 800 miles.‡

\* According to Warden, who appears to follow Lewis and Clarke. In Carey and Lea, the Great Falls are stated to be "above 2000 miles from the Mississippi."

† In Carey and Lea, the river is said to descend only 363 feet in the distance of 18 miles. This is but a specimen of the discrepancies which occur between our best authorities; and Warden's statements are, on many points, at variance with the best maps.

‡ James, vol. iii. p. 226. "It derives its name from its being broad and shoal." Warden confounds the name with the Spanish *la plata* (silver), and assigns to this river a course of 2000 miles.



The Missouri is itself navigable for large boats as high as the falls, a distance of 2575 miles; but the obstructions to its navigation are numerous and formidable. Its character throughout its course, is wild and turbulent; its channel is rendered extremely intricate by sand-bars and islands; and the velocity of its current in some parts increases the danger. In many places, the banks, which are of a loose texture, have been known to give way in such large masses as to change the direction of its course. From the 1st of February to the middle of March, the navigation is impeded by floating masses of ice; and these have been sometimes encountered at a much later season. The waters begin to swell about the middle of February or early in March; and they continue to increase till the 10th of June.\* They maintain their height till the middle or close of July, when the summer freshet yielded by the most northerly of its tributaries, takes place. During this period, there is a sufficient depth of water to admit boats of almost any burthen; but, during the remainder of the year, it can hardly be called navigable, except for boats drawing not more than 25 or 30 inches. The average rate of the current, in a middling stage of the waters, may be estimated at four miles and one-third an hour. In the time of a high freshet, its accelerated velocity is equal to five miles or five and a half an hour. At the junction with the Mississippi, its breadth, which is very unequal, is above a mile. It enters that river at

\* The rise and fall are, however, irregular, depending on the dissolution of the snow in the mountains. On the 5th of February 1804, the waters rose two feet and a half in twenty-four hours. On the 7th, they fell eight inches in the same space of time; on the 9th, rose two feet; on the 12th, sunk two inches; and then continued to rise.—Warden, vol. I. p. 91.



nearly right angles, 18 miles below the mouth of the Illinois ; and produces an immediate change in the character of its waters. The total length of its course to this junction has been estimated at 3096 miles.\*

The united streams of the Missouri and Mississippi are joined, in latitude  $37^{\circ}$ , by the Ohio, bearing with it the tribute of fifteen large navigable rivers, which it collects in a course of 1188 miles. About 400 miles lower down, in latitude  $34^{\circ}$ , the Mississippi receives, on the right bank, the Arkansas, another large tributary, which has its source in the Rocky Mountains, not far from those of the Platte and the Rio Bravo, and has a very irregular course, estimated at above 2000 miles. On the same bank, just below the parallel of  $31^{\circ}$ , and 243 miles above New Orleans, the Red River discharges itself into the Mississippi, flowing from the mountains of Mexico to the north of Santa Fé. This is the last of the considerable streams that join the main channel. Below the mouth of this river, the Mississippi divides into various arms, or lateral outlets, called *bayous*. The three principal of these, called the Atchafayala, the La Fourche, and the Ibberville, embrace an extensive delta, composed of soft, swampy earth, rising very little above tide-water.† The actual embouchure of the river parts

\* Warden, vol. i. pp. 87—9]. James, vol. iii. p. 259. Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 156. Carey and Lea's Atlas. According to the latter work, "the whole length from the highest navigable point of Jefferson's River to the confluence with the Mississippi, is, by comparative course, about 2500 miles, and, to the Gulf of Mexico, nearly 3500." But the navigation of the river to the falls, is estimated at 2575 miles; and to the junction of its head-streams, 2858 miles. The course of the Jefferson is included in the total estimate.

† In Louisiana, the surface of the stream is more elevated than the adjoining lands. Its immense volume of water is confined and



into three branches, each of which has a bar at its entrance: the deepest, which is the eastern, called the Balise, has only 17 feet water. Within the bar, the depth of the river, for 200 or 300 miles, is from 50 to 100 feet, and its average breadth below the mouth of the Missouri, is two-thirds of a mile. The tide extends to New Orleans, 105 miles from the sea, where the rise is commonly from 12 to 15 inches. Vessels of 300 tons ascend as high as Natchez, more than 400 miles from the sea; but their progress against the current is often so very slow, that the passage to New Orleans occupies from five to thirty days, while the same distance may be descended in twelve or fourteen hours. The steam-vessels, however, stem the current at the rate of four miles an hour; and the voyage upwards from New Orleans to the Falls of Ohio, which often occupied sailing vessels three months, may now be accomplished by steam-boats in fifteen or eighteen days.\* The Mississippi rises, during the inundations at New Orleans, (where its breadth is rather less than 1500 feet,) about 12 feet; at Baton Rouge, 25 feet; at Fort Adams, and as far up as the Ohio, 45 feet. It is usually at its lowest stage about the middle of August. The total length of

supported by dikes of soft earth, rising a few feet above the usual height of the inundation. These banks of the river, which decline gradually into the swampy plains behind, are from a quarter to half a mile in breadth, and form the richest and best soil in the country. The same has been observed of the banks of the Nile and the Ganges.—See MOD. TRAV., India, vol. I. p. 26; Egypt, vol. I. p. 42.

\* "The current, when the water is low, will float a boat from 45 to 50 miles in 24 hours; in a middle state, from 60 to 70 miles; and in the time of inundation, from 90 to 100 miles in the same period. It is impracticable for boats to stem the current above Natchez by means of sails only."—Carey and Lea. The steam-boats, however, make about 60 miles a-day.



the Mississippi with the Missouri, (that is to say, from the Gulf of Mexico to the source of Jefferson's River in the Rocky Mountains,) including its windings, has been estimated by Lewis and Clarke at about 4443 miles. By Humboldt, it is computed (from the maps, adding one-third for the sinuosities) at 815 leagues of 20 to a degree; which is only 165 less than the Amazons. Malte Brun calculates it at 980 leagues of 25 to a degree. If the length of the Missouri itself be accurately estimated at 3096 miles, and the distance of its mouth from the sea at 1364 miles, this will give a total length of 3460 miles. No absolute dependence is to be placed, perhaps, upon the accuracy of any of these computations; but their general result sufficiently establishes the claim of this mighty stream to rank as the second largest river of the globe.\*

In the vast district which has been denominated the

\* Warden, vol. i. pp. 87—91. James, vol. iii. p. 259. Malte Brun, vol. v. pp. 4, 156. Carey and Lea, Nos. 6, 53. Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. v. p. 733. The following is given by the learned Author last named, as a comparative table of the principal rivers of the New World, calculated from the most recent maps, and adding a third for the windings.

	20 to a degree.
The Amazons .....	980 leagues.
The Mississippi and Missouri .....	815 leagues.
The Mississippi alone .....	560 leagues.
The La Plata and Paraguay .....	530 leagues.
The Orinoco .....	420 leagues.

To the Indus, he assigns a course of 510 leagues; and to the Ganges, 426 leagues. In the junction of the Mississippi with the Missouri,—the one a clear stream, the other muddy and turbulent,—the one preserving the same general direction from its source to its mouth, the other joining it laterally after a longer course, and communicating its own character to the main stream,—we have nearly a repetition of what occurs in the confluence of the White and Blue rivers which form the Nile, in that of the Esmeralda and the Orinoco, and in that of the Ucayale and the Amazons.



Valley of the Mississippi, embracing more than 20 degrees of latitude and about 30 of longitude, there is, of course, notwithstanding the comparatively inconsiderable difference of elevation, a great diversity of climate. The inclined plane constituting the western side of the valley, or, in other words, the great slope down which the Red, Canadian, Konzas, and Platte rivers have their courses, is believed to have a greater inclination than any other side. The immediate valley of the Illinois is consequently to be viewed as the lowest part of the great valley, above the mouth of that river or the parallel of  $39^{\circ}$ .\* Mr. Flint divides the Valley of the Mississippi, in respect to temperature, into four climates. The first, commencing at the sources of the river, and terminating at the Prairie du Chien, corresponds to the climate of the region between Montreal and Boston. In this climate, the Irish potato attains its perfection, and wheat and the cultivated grasses succeed well; the apple and the pear require a southern aspect; the peach, still greater care; and during five months in the year, the cattle occasionally require shelter. The second climate is that of Illinois and Missouri, the region between the parallels of  $41^{\circ}$  and  $37^{\circ}$ , in which wheat, the apple, the pear, the peach-tree, the persimon, and the papaw flourish to perfection; it is less favourable to the cultivated *gramina*; cattle, though often needing shelter, are seldom housed in winter. The third climate extends from the parallel of  $37^{\circ}$  to  $31^{\circ}$ . In this region, the apple degenerates below  $35^{\circ}$ ; cotton is raised for home consumption between that parallel and  $33^{\circ}$ , and, below the latter degree, is the staple article of cultivation; the fig-tree ripens its fruit in this climate.

\* James, vol. III. p. 264.



From latitude  $31^{\circ}$  to the Gulf of Mexico, is the fourth climate, that of the sugar-cane and the sweet orange, in which the olive also would probably thrive; the streams are never frozen; the forests are in blossom early in March; and there is a thunder-storm almost every night.\*

It has already been seen, that the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, (considering the waters of Lake Superior as its true source,) and the south-eastern branch of the Nelson or Saskatchewan, three of the greatest rivers of North America, flowing in opposite directions, have their sources under nearly the same parallel, and within an inconsiderable distance from each other in the same vast plain. The sources of the Missouri and those of the Colombia not less singularly approximate. A narrow ridge forms the dividing line between the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans; and the northern fork of one branch of the Colombia has its source on the western declivity of the same low mountain from the eastern foot of which issues the remotest water of the Missouri.† This is in about latitude  $43^{\circ} 30'$ , longitude  $112^{\circ}$ . The southern fork of this branch, (called Lewis's River, from its discoverer,) has its sources in the same ridge, in latitude  $40^{\circ}$ , longitude  $106^{\circ}$ , not far from those of the Padouca fork of the Platte River, flowing to the Missouri; those of the Rio Bravo or Del Norte, which has a southerly course through New Mexico, and ultimately flows into the Mexican Gulf; and those of the Colorado, which falls into the Gulf of California. The branch of the Colombia, called Clarke's River, has its sources

\* Flint's Geography of the Western States.—North American Review, No. lxii. p. 84.

† See Lewis and Clarke, vol. II. pp. 81, 185.



in about lat.  $45^{\circ} 20'$ , long.  $112^{\circ}$ . Further to the north, the Tacoutche Tasse or great northern branch of the Colombia, which may be regarded, perhaps, as the main branch, has its source very nearly opposite to the highest or southernmost source of the Unjigah or Peace River, which is in latitude  $54^{\circ} 24'$  N., longitude  $121^{\circ}$  W.\* And those of the true Saskatchewan are situated in a ridge proceeding from the Rocky Mountains, intermediate between the two great branches of the Colombia. Thus, says Mackenzie, "in these same snow-clad mountains rise the Mississippi, if we admit the Missouri to be its source, which flows into the Gulf of Mexico; the River Nelson, which is lost in Hudson's Bay; Mackenzie's River, that discharges itself into the North Sea; and the Colombia, emptying itself into the Pacific Ocean. It is, indeed, the extension of these mountains so far south on the sea coast, that prevents the Colombia from finding a more direct course to the sea, as it runs obliquely with the coast upwards of eight degrees of latitude before it mingles with the ocean."† The mouth of the Colombia is in latitude  $46^{\circ} 10'$ .

The following table will exhibit a general view of the course of the principal rivers referred to in the preceding description.

#### I. BASIN OF THE GULF OF MEXICO.

	Source.	Length.	Mouth.
The Mississippi.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Leech Lake in } 47^{\circ} \\ 38' \text{ N. } 95^{\circ} \text{ W. Red} \\ \text{Cedar Lake in } 47^{\circ} \\ 42' \text{ N. } 93^{\circ} 8' \text{ W.} \end{array} \right\}$	3038 miles.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Gulf of Mexico,} \\ \text{in latitude } 29^{\circ} \\ 8' \text{ N.} \end{array} \right\}$

\* Mackenzie, p. 216.

† Mackenzie, pp. 402, 217. The low ridge is not above 817 paces in length, which divides the waters of the Peace River and the Colombia.



	Source.	Length.	Mouth.
The Missouri ..	{ Rocky Moun- tains in $44^{\circ}$ N. $110^{\circ}$ W.*	3096 miles.	{ Joins the Missis- sippi in $38^{\circ} 55'$ N. $89^{\circ} 57'$ W.
The Missouri, and Lower Mis- sissippi .....	{ .....	4316 miles.	Gulf of Mexico.
The Platte ....	{ Rocky Mountains in $40^{\circ}$ N.	800 miles.	{ The Missouri, in $41^{\circ}$ N.
The Ohio .....	{ Alleghany Moun- tains in $42^{\circ}$ N.	1188 miles.	{ The Mississippi, (left b.) in $37^{\circ}$ N.
The Arkansas ..	{ Rocky Mountains in $38^{\circ}$ N.	1300 miles.	{ <i>Ibid</i> (right b.) in $34^{\circ}$ N.
The Red River.	<i>Ib.</i> in $35^{\circ}$ N.	1000 miles.	<i>Ib.</i> ( <i>ib.</i> ) $31^{\circ}$ N.
The Rio Bravo, or Del Norte.	{ Rocky Mountains in $40^{\circ} 20'$ N. $107^{\circ}$ $45'$ W.	1650 miles.	{ Gulf of Mexico, in $25^{\circ} 55'$ N. $97^{\circ}$ $25'$ W.
The Mobile, or Alabama.	{ Georgia, in $35^{\circ}$ N. $84^{\circ} 50'$ W.	500 miles.	{ Gulf of Mexico, in Mobile Bay.

## II. BASIN OF THE ATLANTIC.

The St. Lawrence.	Lake Ontario.† ..	700 miles.	{ Atlantic Ocean, in $49^{\circ} 30'$ N. $64^{\circ} 15'$ W.
The Nelson, or Saskatchewan.	{ Rocky Mount. (1) $52^{\circ} 50'$ N. $115^{\circ}$ $20'$ W. (2) $51^{\circ}$ N. $114^{\circ}$ $10'$ W.	2500 miles.	Hudson's Bay. †
The Hudson....	{ New York, in $44^{\circ}$ $5'$ N., $74^{\circ} 5'$ W.	324 miles.	{ Atlantic Ocean, in $40^{\circ} 30'$ N. $74^{\circ}$ W.

\* "The extreme navigable point of the Missouri," as given by Captain Clarke, is  $43^{\circ} 30'$   $43'$  N.—Lewis and Clarke, vol. ii. p. 118. If we take the junction of the Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin, as the source, it will be in  $45^{\circ} 24'$  N.,  $106^{\circ} 55'$  W.; but its length will then be reduced to 2858 miles, or, with the Lower Mississippi, 4078 miles.

† If we reckon the head-waters of Lake Superior as the source of the St. Lawrence, then its source will be in  $46^{\circ} 30'$  N.,  $92^{\circ} 10'$  W.; and the total length of its course through the chain of Lakes to the Ocean, about 1853 miles.



## III. BASIN OF THE ARCTIC OCEAN.

	Source.	Length.	Mouth.
The Mackenzie, or Unjigah.	{ Rocky Mount. in } { 54° 24' N. 121° W. }	2800 miles.	{ Arctic Sea, in } { 69° N. 135° 15' W. }

## IV. BASIN OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

	Rocky Mount.		
	(1) in 54° 24' N.		
	121° W.		
The Colombia..	(2) — 45° 20' N.	1100 miles.	{ North Pacific,
	112° W.		{ in 46° 10' N. 122°
	(3) — 40° N.		{ 45' W.
	106° W.		
	Rocky Mount. in		
The Colorado ..	{ 40° 15' N. 108° }	1000 miles.	{ Gulf of Califor-
	30' W.		{ nia, in 32° 32' N.
			{ 114° 25' W.

The other chief rivers of the United States, will fall under our notice in the topographical description of the country. They may here be dismissed with a brief enumeration. The Mexican Gulf receives, besides those above mentioned, the Apalachicola, formed by the union of the Chatapouchy and Flint Rivers: the former, during the latter part of its course, separates Georgia from Alabama. The principal rivers which have their sources on the eastern side of the Alleghanies, are, (proceeding from the south,) the Savannah, which divides Georgia from South Carolina, and falls into the Atlantic in latitude 32° N.; the James, the Potomac, and the Susquehanna, which all fall into Chesapeake Bay; the Delaware, which separates the State of New York from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and falls into Delaware Bay; the Hudson, above mentioned, which falls into New York Bay; and the Connecticut, which falls into Long Island Sound. The small river St. Croix claims our notice also, as separating the territory of the United States from New Brunswick.



It has been estimated, that thirteen-sixteenths of the country east of the Mississippi, (excluding Florida,) are covered with a strong, fertile soil, adapted to repay, with a moderate degree of cultivation, the labours of the husbandman. Of the remaining three-sixteenths, about 57,000,000 acres are covered with water; about 40,000,000 acres consist of a mountainous country almost universally covered with forest, but, from the nature of its surface, unsuceptible of culture; and about 29,000,000 are either sandy, or covered with too poor a soil to offer any encouragement to cultivation. Of 520,000,000 acres capable of culture, only 41,000,000 were under actual improvement in 1811; but they must now amount to at least 60,000,000, or about one-twelfth of the whole surface E. of the Mississippi, including Florida. In 1813, there were 148,876,000 acres of land, of which the Indian title had not been extinguished, on the eastern side of the Mississippi, situated chiefly in Ohio, Michigan, the North-west territory, Indiana, Illinois, and Mississippi, and 56,225,000 acres of national domain unappropriated, of which the Indian title had been extinguished.\* We transcribe from M. Malte Brun the following summary view of the physical aspect of the country.

“ From the shores of the Atlantic to the Mississippi, the United States present an immense natural forest, interspersed, however, with open and naked plains, called *prairies*, which are numerous on the western side of the Alleghianies, but very rare on the eastern side. In the country west of the Mississippi, wood is comparatively scarce; and in the arid and desert plains, occupying a breadth of three or four hundred miles to the east of the Rocky Mountains, only a few

\* Warden, vol. iii. ch. 36; Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 166.



trees are seen on the banks of the rivers. In the inhabited part of the United States, the lands cleared and cultivated, probably, do not exceed one-tenth part of the surface. There is a diversity in the American woods, according to the climate, soil, and situation of the different districts ; and some naturalists have distinguished the vegetation of the United States into five regions. 1. The region of the North-east, bounded by the Mohawk and Connecticut rivers, where firs, pines, and the other evergreens of Canada prevail. 2. The region of the Alleghanies, where the red and black oak, the beech, the balsam poplar, the black and red birch often overshadow the plants and shrubs of Canada, at least as far as North Carolina. The valleys among these mountains are remarkably fertile in corn. 3. The upland country, extending from the foot of the mountains to the falls of the rivers. Here, the prevailing trees are the red maple, the red and black ash, the walnut, the sycamore, the acacia, and the chestnut. To the south, the magnolia, the laurel, and the orange are interspersed through the forest. Tobacco, with the indigo and cotton plants, succeed as far north as the Susquehanna ; beyond which pastures prevail. 4. The region of maritime pines, which extends along the Atlantic coast from the sea to the first elevations : the long-leaved pine, the yellow pine, and the red cedar occupy the dry grounds, and the acacia-leaved cypress, the low and moist soils, as far as the Roanoke, or even the Chesapeake. Further to the north we find the white pine, the black and Canadian fir, and the *thuya occidentalis*. The rice-grounds commence where the tide-water becomes fresh, and terminate where it ceases to be felt. 5. The western region, which, no doubt, admits of subdivision, but, in which, generally speaking, the forest trees are, the



white oak, the black and scaly walnut, the walnut hicory, the cherry, the tulip-tree, the white and gray ash, the sugar-maple, the white elm, the linden, and the western plane, which all grow to a great size upon the Atlantic coast.

“ But the varying elevation of the ground, necessarily blends the characters of these different regions. Looking, therefore, at the forests of the United States as a whole, the most universally diffused trees are, the willow-leaved oak, which grows in the marshes; the chestnut oak, which, in the Southern States, rises to a prodigious size, and which is as much esteemed for its farinaceous nuts as for its wood; the white, red, and black oak. The two species of walnut also, the white and the black, (the latter valued for its oil,) the chestnut, and the elm of Europe, abound almost as much as the oak in the United States. The tulip-tree and the sassafras, more sensible to cold than these others, are stunted shrubs at the confines of Canada,—assume the character of trees in the Middle States; but, upon the hot banks of the Alatomaha, they develop their full growth, and display all their beauty and grandeur. The sugar-maple, on the other hand, is not seen in the Southern States, except upon the northern slopes of the mountains, while, in the colder climates of New England, it reaches its full natural dimensions. The amber-tree, which yields an odorous gum, the iron-wood (*carpinus ostrya*), the American elm, the black poplar, and the *taccamahaca*, are found growing in every place where the soil suits them, without shewing any great preference for one climate more than another. The light and sandy soils are covered with this useful tribe of pines, with the common fir, the beautiful hemlock fir, the black, and the white pine. We may also class with this family of trees, the



*arbor vitæ*, the juniper of Virginia, and the American red cedar. Among the shrubs generally diffused in the United States, we may reckon the *chionanthus*, the red maple, the sumach, the red mulberry, the thorn-apple, &c.

“The United States, generally speaking, do not present the beautiful verdure of Europe; but, among the larger herbs which cover the soil, the curiosity of botanists has distinguished the *collinsonia*, which affords the Indians a remedy for the bite of the rattlesnake; several species of *phlox*; the golden lily; the biennial *anthera*, with several species of star-flower, of *monarda*, and of *rudbeckia*. It is in Virginia, and in the southern and south-western States, that the American Flora displays its wonders, and the savannas wear their perpetual verdure. It is there that the magnificence of the primitive forests, and the exuberant vegetation of the marshes, captivate the senses by the charms of form, of colour, and of perfume. If we pass along the shores of Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, groves in uninterrupted succession seem to float upon the waters. By the side of the pine is seen the *palmetto*, (the only shrub which thrives in salt-water,) the magnificent *lobelia cardinalis*, and the odoriferous *pancratium* of Carolina, with its snow-white flowers. The lands to which the tide reaches, are distinguished from the lands which remain dry, by the moving and compressed stalks of the *arundo gigantea*; by the light foliage of the *nyssa aquatica*; by the *tacamahaca*; and by the white cedar, which, perhaps, of all the trees of America, presents the most singular aspect. Its trunk, where it issues from the ground, is composed of four or five enormous bearers, which, uniting at the height of seven or eight feet, form a sort of open vault, from the summit of which



risers a single straight stem of eighteen or twenty feet in height, without a branch, but terminating in a flat canopy, shaped like a parasol, garnished with leaves curiously figured, and of the most delicate green. The crane and the eagle fix their nests on this aerial platform; and the paroquets, while leaping about, are attracted to it by the oily seeds inclosed in the cones suspended from the branches. In the natural labyrinth which occur in these marshy forests, the traveller sometimes discovers small lakes and open lawns, which would present most seductive retreats, if the unhealthy exhalations of autumn permitted him to inhabit them. Here, he walks under a vaulted roof of *smilax* and wild vines, among creeping *lianas*, which invest his feet with their flowers; but the soil trembles under him, clouds of annoying insects hover around, monstrous bats overshadow him with their hideous wings, the rattle-snake musters his scaly terrors, while the wolf, the carcajou, and the tiger-cat fill the air with their savage and discordant cries.

“The name of savannas is given to those vast prairies of the western region, which display a boundless ocean of verdure, and deceive the sight by seeming to rise towards the sky, and of which the only inhabitants are immense herds of bisons or buffaloes. The name is also given to those plains which skirt the rivers, and are generally inundated in the rainy season. The trees which grow there, are of the aquatic species. The *magnolia glauca*, the American olive, the *Gordonia argentea*, with its odorous flowers, are seen here, isolated or in groupes, open above, while the general surface of the savanna exhibits a long and succulent herbage, mixed with plants and shrubs. The wax-myrtle appears conspicuous among many species of *axalia*, of *Kalmia*, *andromeda*, and



rhododendron; here widely scattered, there collected into tufts; sometimes interlaced with the purple Russian flower; sometimes with the capricious *olitoræa*, which decorates the alcoves with rich and variegated festoons. The margins of the pools and the low and moist spots are adorned with the brilliant azure flowers of the *ixia*, the golden petals of the *canna lutea*, and the tufted roses of the *hydrangea*; while an infinite variety of species of the pleasing *phlox*, the retiring and sensitive *dionea*, and the flame-coloured *amaryllis atamasco*, in those places where the tide reaches the impenetrable ranks of the royal palms, form a fanciful girdle to the woods, and mark the doubtful limits where the savanna rises into the forest.

“ The calcareous districts, which form the great portion of the region west of the Alleghanies, present certain tracts entirely divested of trees, which are called Barrens, though capable of being rendered productive. The cause of this peculiarity has not been accurately examined. Those parts of this region which are elevated 300 or 400 feet, and lie along deeply depressed beds of rivers, are clothed with the richest forests in the world. The Ohio flows under the shade of the plane and the tulip-tree, like a canal dug in a nobleman's park; while the *Lianas*, extending from tree to tree, form graceful arches of flowers and foliage over branches of the river. Passing to the south, the wild orange-tree mixes with the odoriferous and the common laurel. The straight, silvery column of the papaw fig, which rises to the height of twenty feet, and is crowned with a canopy of large, indented leaves, forms one of the most striking ornaments of this enchanting scene. Above all these, towers the majestic magnolia, which shoots up from that calca-



reous soil to the height of more than 100 feet. Its trunk, perfectly straight, is surmounted with a thick and expanded head, the pale green foliage of which affects a conical figure. From the centre of the flowery crown which terminates its branches, a flower of the purest white rises, having the form of a rose, and to which succeeds a crimson cone. This, in opening, exhibits rounded seed of the finest coral red, suspended by delicate threads six inches long. Thus, by its flowers, its fruits, and its gigantic size, the magnolia surpasses all its rivals of the forest." \*

The climate of the United States has been divided by Volney into four regions; that of New England, extending southward to the chain of hills which gives rise to the Delaware and Susquehanna; the middle climate, extending to the Potowmac; the hot climate of the flat maritime country of the southern states; and the climate of the region west of the Alleghanies. Other varieties, however, present themselves in the great Mississippi valley; and each of these will come more properly under consideration in describing the several regions. Since the period of the first European establishments in the United States, the climate is supposed to have undergone some remarkable changes.† Its most distinguishing peculiarity is its great inconstancy, together with the sudden and extreme variations, of which, it is said, even the Indians complain. The ruddy complexion prevails in New England and the interior of Pennsylvania; but, from New York to Florida, the pallid or sallow countenances of the inhabitants remind a stranger of the complexion of the Creoles in the West India Islands. The summer season in this region is very unhealthy.

Malte Brun, vol. v. pp. 160—165.

† Warden, vol. I. p. 161.



The mean temperature of the year, according to Humboldt, is  $9^{\circ}$  (Fahrenheit) lower at Philadelphia, than in the corresponding latitudes on the coasts of Europe. The vine thrives as far north as Pennsylvania; but wines are made as yet to a very limited extent.\* Pennsylvania is noted for its superior breeds of horses and horned cattle. Flocks of the merino breed (pure or mixed) are spread over the northern, middle, and western States.

No mines of gold or silver of any importance have hitherto been discovered in the territory of the United States; but the useful metals are, in general, abundantly distributed. Some of the iron ores are found in almost every State, and mines of this metal are worked in New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. Lead is obtained from Missouri, where forty or fifty mines have been opened. Copper is said to exist in the North-west territory in great abundance; but it has hitherto been imported from Mexico and other foreign countries. Coal is found in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania; and one of the largest coal formations in the world, extends, with some interruption, from the western foot of the Alleghanies, across the Mississippi.†

The American Confederacy originally consisted of thirteen States, namely, Virginia, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.‡ Ver-

\* The vine has been successively cultivated in Indiana.

† Malte Brun, vol. v. pp. 159, 167.

‡ When the new Government was first organized, only eleven States had ratified the Constitution; but North Carolina and Rhode



mont was, shortly after the ratification of the Constitution, admitted to the Union ; and the district of Kentucky, which had formed part of Virginia, was recognized, in the succeeding year, as a distinct State. In 1791, when the first census of the inhabitants of the United States was completed, the population of these fifteen States amounted to nearly four millions, of which the slaves formed not much less than a sixth. By the formation of new States, the number is now increased to twenty-four, each ruled by its own government ; besides which, there are included in the dominions of the Republic, three territories in which civil governments are established without constitutions, and three other territories yet unoccupied by a civilized population. These States may be classed in four grand groupes. The first embraces the six States east of the Hudson, or New England, which is the most thickly peopled and the most commercial section of the Union. The second comprises the Middle States, including New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, in which the agricultural character is united with and qualified by the commercial. Thirdly, the Southern States, including Virginia and all the maritime country to the Mississippi : in these States, slaves are numerous, and the husbandmen are generally planters. Fourthly, the Western States, in the basin of the Ohio, where there are few slaves, and the character of the population is almost purely agricultural, enjoying the best climate as well as the richest soil in the United States. The following Table exhibits the name, extent, and population of the several States, estimated to the 1st January, 1828.

Island, the two dissenting States, adopted it; the former in November 1789, the latter in May 1790. Vermont acceded to it in 1791



TABLE I.

## I. NEW ENGLAND.

<i>States.</i>	<i>Area in sq. miles.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>By the sq. league.</i>	<i>Slaves.</i>
1. Maine .....	33,000	345,420	10½	} None.
2. New Hampshire .....	9,280	268,065	28½	
3. Vermont .....	10,212	270,820	27	
4. Massachusetts .....	7,800	557,003	71½	
5. Rhode Island .....	1,360	86,540	63	
6. Connecticut .....	4,674	284,477	61	
	<u>65,326</u>	<u>1,812,325</u>	<u>28</u>	

## II. MIDDLE STATES.

1. New York .....	46,000	1,611,307	35	None.
2. New Jersey .....	6,900	296,499	43	3,778
3. Pennsylvania .....	43,950	1,193,589	27	None.
4. Delaware .....	2,068	74,948	36	2,500
5. Maryland .....	10,800	419,379	38½	100,000
	<u>109,718</u>	<u>3,593,722</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>106,278</u>

## III. SOUTHERN STATES.

1. Virginia .....	61,000	1,133,410	17½	450,000
2. Kentucky .....	39,000	691,397	17½	166,000
3. Tennessee .....	40,000	510,176	13½	110,000
4. North Carolina .....	43,800	701,626	16	235,000
5. South Carolina .....	30,080	558,233	18½	288,000
6. Georgia .....	58,200	413,144	6½	189,600
7. Alabama .....	50,800	254,041	5	93,308
8. Mississippi .....	45,350	108,181	2½	52,502
9. Louisiana .....	48,220	212,074	4½	110,502
	<u>419,450</u>	<u>4,612,282</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>1,694,914</u>

## IV. WESTERN STATES.

1. Ohio .....	39,000	826,905	21	None.
2. Indiana .....	36,250	196,810	5½	304
3. Illinois .....	59,000	85,288	1½	1,460
4. Missouri .....	60,300	106,200	1½	20,800
	<u>194,550</u>	<u>1,215,203</u>	<u>6½</u>	<u>22,564</u>



## V. TERRITORIES.

<i>States.</i>	<i>Area in sq. miles.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>By the sq. league.</i>	<i>Slaves.</i>
1. District of Columbia.*	100	39,137	391	6,806
2. Michigan Territory.	54,000	11,806	1 in 5	None.
3. Arkansas Territory.	121,000	31,987	1 in 3½	2,587
4. Florida.†. . . . .	45,000	30,000	1 in 1½	5,000
	<u>220,100</u>	<u>112,930</u>		<u>14,393</u>
I. New England. . . . .	65,326	1,812,325	23	None.
II. Middle States. . . . .	109,718	3,595,722	33	106,278
III. Southern States. . . . .	419,450	4,612,282	11	1,694,914
IV. Western States . . . . .	194,550	1,215,203	6½	22,564
V. Territories. . . . .	<u>220,100</u>	<u>112,930</u>		<u>14,393</u>
	<u>1,009,144</u>	<u>11,348,462</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>1,838,149</u>
VI. Territories unoccupied . . . . .		‡120,346	Indians.	
North-west Territory. . . . .	144,000	‡250,790	Indians,	
Missouri. . . . .	930,000	or about 1 in 4		
Columbia. . . . .	288,000	square miles.		
	<u>2,371,144</u>	<u>11,819,593</u>		<u>1,838,149</u>

TABLE II.

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

	<i>In 1790.</i>	<i>In 1800.</i>	<i>In 1820.</i>
New England States.	1,009,522	1,233,011	1,659,854
Middle States . . . . .	1,337,454	- 1,813,712	3,179,944
Southern States . . . . .	1,573,350	2,207,940	3,891,811
Western States . . . . .	3,000	50,455	850,409
Territories . . . . .		14,644	56,208
	<u>3,923,326§</u>	<u>5,319,762</u>	<u>9,638,226  </u>

\* This district, situated between Maryland and Virginia, and including the Federal capital, belongs to Government.

† The extent of Florida is estimated by Malte Brun at 57,750 square miles; in Carey and Lea's Atlas, at 56,600. The above reduced estimate is according to the Table given by Captain Basil Hall.

‡ See page 7, of this volume.

§ In this estimate, the population of the new States, Alabama,



The census of 1810 gave 7,239,903 as the sum total of the population; but we have not deemed it necessary to give the details. On comparing these different estimates, it appears, that, between 1790 and 1820, the population of the United States steadily increased at the rate of about 3 per cent. per annum. The increase from 1790 to 1800, was 35 per cent.; from 1800 to 1810, 34.6 per cent.; from 1810 to 1820, about 33 per cent.; *vis.*, 34 on the white population, 27½ on the free coloured, and 28 on the slaves. Since 1820, however, the increase has been only at the rate of 17¼ per cent.; *vis.*, 17,¼ on the free population, and 19½ on the slaves. The increase in some of the older States, between 1790 and 1810, was apparently inconsiderable; in Rhode Island and Connecticut, only about 10 per cent.; in Massachusetts and Maryland, nearly 20 per cent.; while, in the State of New York, the increase was most extraordinary; 72 per cent. for the first ten years of this

Mississippi, Louisiana, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, and of the Territories, are of course not included. The different classes were as follows.

Whites .....	3,168,160
Free coloured.....	59,511
Slaves .....	695,655
	<hr/>
	3,923,326

! The different classes were, in 1820, thus distributed:—

Whites .....	7,861,935
Free coloured.....	233,567
Slaves .....	1,538,118
" All other persons except Indians not naturalized." }	4,616
	<hr/>
	9,638,236

The number of "foreigners not naturalized" in 1820, was 53,655. The annual mean of the number of emigrants arriving in the United States in the years 1800—1820, was about 10,000.



period, and 62 per cent. for the last ten. This is explained by the fact, that a great proportion of the population thus rapidly accumulated in New York, was derived from New England ; and swarms from this same hive have contributed to raise the population of the new States. In Georgia, the increase between 1790 and 1800, was 97 per cent. ; in Vermont, 80 per cent. ; in Tennessee and Kentucky, nearly 200 per cent. In the Western States, the rate of increase is not a subject for calculation, as they were, at the former period, a mere wilderness, and have been peopled by emigration. It will be seen, that the slaves, who, in 1790, formed nearly a sixth of the population, still bear about the same proportion, but are almost entirely confined to Maryland and the States south of the Potomac and the Ohio. In Louisiana and South Carolina, the slave population is rather more than one-half ; but, taking the slave States throughout, there are two whites to a black.\* The free-coloured inhabitants, estimated in 1790, at somewhat less than 60,000, and in 1820, at 233,557, are now supposed to amount to about 260,000 souls. Yet, notwithstanding the numerous manumissions, the slave population has increased faster than the free. The Indians, who are wholly passed over in the official tables, are now less numerous, to the east of the Mississippi, than the free negroes. And what is not less remarkable, in North America alone, we meet

\* Slaves have entirely disappeared, since the census of 1820, from the only parts of New England in which a few remained, as well as from New York and Pennsylvania. Their numbers were, Rhode Island, 48 ; Connecticut, 97 ; Pennsylvania, 211 ; New York, 10,088. Nine States, out of the twenty-four, have now no slaves. During the years 1804 to 1807, nearly 40,000 Africans were imported as slaves ; but in the latter year, the trade was abolished. In 1810, nearly 200,000 had been emancipated, or been born in a state of freedom. By an act of the legislature of New York, every remaining slave became free on the 4th of July, 1827.



with none of those mixed castes which, in Spanish and Portuguese America, form so large a proportion of the population. Of the Whites, the New Englanders, Virginians, and Carolinians are almost purely of British origin. Next to the British, in point of numbers, are the Germans and Irish, who are very numerous in the Middle States, particularly in Pennsylvania. Next to these are the Dutch, who are the most numerous in the State of New York; but, "from three-fifths to two-thirds" of the inhabitants of that State have emigrated from New England.\* Nearly half the population of Louisiana is French.

The history of the settlement of America, and of the Revolution from which the Union dates its independence, would far exceed our prescribed limits. We must confine ourselves to a very brief outline of the leading events, commencing with the discovery of the Continent in the fifteenth century.

#### HISTORICAL MEMORANDA.

THE romantic story of the adventures of Columbus may be passed over as having little connexion with the northern section of the New World. The honour of first discovering the Continent must, without diminishing the merit of the Genoese Navigator, be given to John Cabot, a Venetian by birth, but who resided many years at Bristol, and to his son Sebastian. Soon after the result of Columbus's first voyage was known, Cabot was sent by the King of England (Henry VII.) on an expedition of discovery in the same direction. He sailed in the spring of

\* Dwight, vol. iii. p. 252. This proportion, the learned Writer represents to be continually increasing; so that "New York is ultimately to be regarded as a colony from New England."



1497, and steering directly west, arrived in June at a large island, which he called *Prima Vista*, but which has since become well known under the familiar name of Newfoundland. Here they landed, and brought away several of the productions of the country, and three of its inhabitants. It being their main object to discover a north-west passage to the Indies, they coasted the whole of the N.E. promontory of America between the parallels of  $38^{\circ}$  and  $57^{\circ}$ ; then, returning, they cruised along the coast of East Florida; and thence sailed to England, without having made any settlement. Upon the discoveries made in this voyage, however, the English founded their claim to the eastern portion of North America.

It was in the year 1498, in his third voyage, that Columbus discovered the island of Trinidad and the coast of Paria and Cumana. In the following year, Alonso de Ojeda, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, pursuing the same track, explored the coast as far as Cape de Vela. An account of this voyage was drawn up by Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine, who had accompanied Ojeda; and to the author of this first published description of the New World, was awarded the distinction due to its discoverer. "The name of Amerigo," says Robertson, "has supplanted that of Columbus; and mankind may regret an act of injustice which, having received the sanction of time, it is now too late to redress."

Such is the received story; but it is not a little remarkable, that it should be wholly uncertain, at what time the name of America came to be first given to the New World.\* Nor is it less singular, that, if the continent really derived its name from "the impostor,"

\* Robertson's America, vol. I. note 23.



it should not have been called *Vespuccia*. *Amerigo* is moreover so very extraordinary a baptismal name, that the fact of its having been conferred upon the Florentine adventurer in infancy, requires attestation. Is it not more probable, that it was an assumed name, and that "the vanity of a traveller," by which he is supposed to have been actuated, led him to appropriate the name by which the South American peninsula had been previously designated? It has been remarked, that *America* is a word very closely related, in appearance, to an appellation found in some of the native dialects; and it is at least possible, that it may have been applied to the country by those who had first any intercourse with the natives.

However this may have been, North America was long known by no other names than *Florida* and *New Spain*, under which were comprised the whole of the Spanish possessions in that region. Early in the year 1513, *Juan Ponce de Leon*, having subjugated *Porto Rico* to the crown of Spain, sailed from that island in a northerly direction, and reached the continent in latitude  $30^{\circ} 8'$ . Charmed with the verdant coast, he called it *Florida*; but, being resisted in his attempts to effect a landing, he returned to *Porto Rico*, after exploring the channel now called the *Gulf of Florida*. The name of *Florida* became gradually restricted to a smaller space by the French settlements in *Canada*, and by the successive establishments of the British on the Atlantic coast; but *Louisiana* was long known under the name of *West Florida*; and the Spaniards comprised, under the general name, the whole territory extending along the northern shores of the Mexican Sea, from the *Mississippi* to the Atlantic.

Passing over the various voyages undertaken by



adventurous navigators to the American shores between 1504 and 1540,\* in the latter year the French made a first unsuccessful attempt to plant a colony in Canada. The first attempt to establish a settlement within the limits of the United States, had for its object, to secure an asylum from religious persecution. About the middle of the sixteenth century, Admiral Coligni, the head of the Protestants of France, was induced to project a settlement beyond the Atlantic, to which his brethren might retire from the persecutions of the Catholics. Fitting out two ships, he sent them out under the command of John Ribaut, who landed at a place supposed to be within the limits of South Carolina. Here he built a fort, which he garrisoned with a part of his men, and returned to France. Soon after his departure, the men who were left, mutinied, killed their commander, and having built and equipped a vessel, put to sea. After being out for several weeks, they were reduced to the extremity of famine, when they were taken up by an English vessel.† About two years afterwards, Coligni sent out a party to Florida, whose fate was still more disastrous. "The Spanish monarch, who laid claim to the country, sent out, in 1564, a considerable force to dislodge them. The greatest barbarities were in-

\* Florida was visited in 1520, by Vasquez; in 1523, by De Verazini, a Florentine in the service of the King of France; in 1524, by De Geray, a Spaniard; in 1528, by Pamphilo de Narvaez, who eventually perished by shipwreck; and in 1539, by Ferdinand de Soto. In 1534, James Cartier, under the auspices of the French Government, sailed from St. Maloes for Newfoundland; whence he steered northward, and, on the festival of St. Lawrence, discovered the gulf and river on which he conferred the name of that saint. The next year, he sailed up the river as far as the rapids above Montreal, where he built a small fort, in which he wintered.

† Having consumed all their provisions, it is said, they had actually proceeded to kill and eat one of their number.



flicted upon the unfortunate emigrants, many of whom were hung on the trees, with an inscription purporting that they were destroyed, 'not as Frenchmen, but as heretics.' An ample and appropriate revenge was taken, not long afterwards, by the French. Dominic de Gourgues, a Gascon of adventurous and determined spirit, collected a party of his countrymen, and being joined by the Indians, attacked the fort in which the Spaniards were collected. Having carried it by storm, he hung up the garrison on the same trees that sustained the mouldering bodies of his countrymen, inscribing over them, that they were executed, 'not as Spaniards, but as cut-throats and murderers.' " \*

" In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, having received from Queen Elizabeth a grant of such 'remote, heathen, and barbarous lands' as he might discover and occupy, fitted out a squadron of five ships, and sailed for America. On arriving before St. John, in Newfoundland, he found thirty-six vessels fishing in the harbour. He landed and took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign. On his return to England, he suffered shipwreck and perished. In the next year, Sir Walter Raleigh, having obtained a renewal of the patent granted to Sir Humphrey, who was his half-brother, despatched to America two ships commanded by Captains Armidon and Barlow. They first landed on an island in the inlet to Pamlico Sound, and thence proceeded to the Isle of Roanoke, at the mouth of Albemarle Sound in North Carolina. At both places, they were treated with great respect

\* Carey and Lea, 8vo. p. 329. We know not on what authority this relation rests. Another party of the unfortunate Hugonots were induced to go out to Rio Janeiro, the dupes and victims of an unprincipled French adventurer.—See MOD. TRAV., Brazil, vol. i. p. 23.



by the natives. Having freighted their ships with furs, sassafras, and cedars, they returned to England, where they published marvellous accounts of the beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, the mildness of the climate, and the innocence of the natives. The Queen was so charmed with the description, that, as a memorial that the country had been discovered during the reign of a virgin queen, she called it VIRGINIA.

“ The next year, Raleigh sent from England a fleet of seven vessels, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville (or Greenville), and carrying out upwards of one hundred persons, destined to begin a settlement. They were left under Ralph Lane, on Roanoke Island. The success of the Spaniards in finding gold in South America, led these adventurers to employ their time in a fruitless search for it here. In 1586, they were visited by Sir Francis Drake, who, at their request, conveyed them back to England. Lane having carried home a quantity of tobacco, the Indian custom of smoking it was adopted by Raleigh, a man of gayety and fashion, and was thus introduced at court.

“ Soon after Drake had departed, Grenville again arrived with provisions for the settlement. Finding it abandoned, he left fifteen men to keep possession of the country. In 1587, three other ships were sent to the same place; but the men who had been left, could not be found, having probably been murdered by the savages. After remaining a few weeks on the coast, the ships returned to England, leaving 117 men on the islands. War then existing between England and Spain, two years elapsed before the coast was again visited. In that interval, the whole number perished; but in what manner, has never been ascer-



tained. Thus ended the exertions of Raleigh to plant a colony in America.

“ These successive misfortunes withdrew for several years the attention of the English from these distant regions. In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold made a voyage to America. Instead of taking the circuitous but usual route by the West India Islands, he steered directly west from England, and arrived, in May, on the coast of Massachusetts. Here he discovered a head-land, and taking a large quantity of cod fish near it, called it Cape Cod. Proceeding southwardly, he passed Gay Head, entered Buzzard's Bay, and upon an island within it, erected a small fort, the ruins of which were visible so late as the year 1797. After trading a while with the Indians, he returned home.

“ The report made by Gosnold, revived the spirit of adventure. In 1603 and 1605, two voyages were made in the same direction; and Penobscot Bay, Massachusetts' Bay, and the rivers between them were discovered. The accounts given by the last navigators, confirmed the report of Gosnold, and led to a more extensive scheme of colonization than had yet been attempted. Of this scheme, Mr. Richard Hakluyt was the most active promoter. By his persuasion, an association of gentlemen in different parts of the kingdom, was formed for the purpose of sending colonies to America. Upon their application to King James, he, by letters-patent, dated in 1606, divided the country of Virginia (then considered as extending from the southern boundary of North Carolina to the northern boundary of Maine) into two districts, and constituted two companies for planting colonies within them. The Southern district, he granted to Sir Thomas Gates and his associates, chiefly resident in London, and therefore styled the London Company.



The Northern district, he granted to Thomas Hanham and his associates, who were called the Plymouth Company. The two districts were called South and North Virginia.\* The members of these Companies were principally merchants. Their objects were, the extension of commerce and the discovery of mines of the precious metals, which were supposed to abound in North, as well as in South America. For the supreme government of the colonies, a grand council was instituted, the members of which were to reside in England, and to be appointed by the King. The subordinate jurisdiction was committed to a council in each colony, the members of which were to be appointed by the grand council in England, and to be governed by its instructions. To the emigrants and their descendants were secured the enjoyment of all the rights of denizens or citizens, in the same manner and to the same extent as if they had remained or been born in England.

“ Before the date, however, of these letters-patent, the King of France granted to the Sieur De Monts, all the territory from the 40th to the 46th degree of north latitude, or from New Jersey to Nova Scotia, then called Acadia. By virtue of this grant, a settlement was made in 1604, on the south-eastern side of the Bay of Fundy, and called Port Royal. In 1608, Samuel Champlain, the agent of De Monts, laid the foundation of Quebec, the capital of Canada. From these possessions of the French, the colonies of New England and New York were, for more than a century, frequently and cruelly annoyed.

“ The London Company, soon after its incorporation in 1606, despatched to America three ships, having on

\* North America was at this time, as far as explored, divided into three immense territories, Canada, or New France, Virginia, and Florida.



board 105 persons, destined to begin a settlement in South Virginia.....The place of their destination was the disastrous position at Roanoke. A storm fortunately drove them to the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, which they entered on the 26th of April, 1607. Discovering a large and beautiful river, they gave it the name of James River, (in honour of King James,) and ascending it, had, on its banks, several interviews with the natives, by whom, on making signs of peace, they were received as friends. On the 13th of May, they debarked at a place which they called James Town." \*

This was the first town founded by the English in North America, and their first permanent settlement. The colony, however, through gross mismanagement, was soon brought to the verge of ruin by famine, hardships, and disease. To the great exertions and talents of Captain John Smith, who makes the most distinguished figure in the early history of this country, the colony was indebted for its preservation. By his resolute and persevering spirit, he prevailed on the adventurers not to abandon the settlement, while his activity and courage procured them the means of subsistence.† In 1609, a fresh party of settlers arrived.

\* Hale's History, pp. 9—16.

† An incident which occurred during this period, has lent to his history the attraction of romance. While on an exploring party in search of provisions, near the source of the Chickahominy, he was surprised and taken prisoner by a party of Indians, whose king, Powhatan, condemned him, after a detention of six weeks, to be put to death. He was led forth to execution; his head was placed upon a stone, and an Indian stood near with a club, the instrument of death. At this instant, Pocahontas, the favourite daughter of Powhatan, rushed forward between the captive and the executioner, and resting her head upon that of the intended victim, intreated his life. Powhatan relented; he directed Smith to be conducted to his wigwam, and soon afterwards sent him back, escorted by twelve guides, to James Town. Pocahontas subse-



But such was the distress of the colony in 1610, that, in six months, the numbers were reduced from 500 to 60 persons; and the survivors had actually embarked on their return to England, when Lord Delaware, who had been appointed governor of Virginia under a new charter, arrived with a supply of provisions and 150 new settlers. Under the able administration of this nobleman and his successor, the affairs of the infant settlement were brought into a more promising condition. In 1619, the first legislative assembly was convened by Governor Yeardley, composed of delegates from all the boroughs, then amounting to seven. About this period, upwards of 1200 additional emigrants arrived, among whom were 150 young women, who were sold to the planters as wives, at 150 lbs. of tobacco each.\* Another measure, of a different character, was adopted shortly afterwards. The Company were ordered by the King to transport to Virginia a hundred idle and dissolute persons, then in custody for their offences. They were distributed through the colony, and employed as labourers. A Dutch vessel also brought into James River twenty Africans, who were immediately purchased as slaves. "This was the commencement, in the Anglo-American colonies, of a traffic abhorrent to humanity, disgrace-

quently became the wife of Mr. Rolfe, a respectable young planter, who brought her to England, where she was presented at Court. She died when about to return to America, leaving one son, from whom are descended some of the most respectable families in Virginia.—Hale, pp. 17—22. Captain Smith, whom Mr. Jefferson styles, "next to Raleigh the founder of the colony," wrote its history, from the first adventures to the year 1624; and his work, written in a barbarous and uncouth style, is almost the only source of information relative to that period.

\* Tobacco was then selling at 3s. the pound. The price was at first 100lb. of tobacco, or about 15l.; but was then raised.



ful to civilization, and fixing the foulest stain upon the character of the age and nation."

The colony was now in the full tide of prosperity. Its numbers had greatly increased, and its settlements were widely extended. But in 1622, it was doomed to experience a reverse of fortune as terrible as it was sudden and unexpected. The settlers were treacherously surprised by a party of Indians, with whom they were at peace, and 347 men, women, and children fell victims to their savage ferocity. The massacre would have been more extensive, had not a domestic Indian, residing in one of the villages, revealed the plot to his master, whom he had been solicited to murder. Information was instantly given to some of the nearest settlements, just in time to save them from the common destruction. A vindictive and exterminating war succeeded, in which the Whites were victorious; and in a short time, most of the neighbouring tribes were either exterminated or compelled to retire far into the wilderness. But their own numbers melted away before the miseries of war; their settlements were reduced from eighty to eight; and famine again visited them with its afflicting scourge. In 1624, out of 9000 persons who had been sent from England, only 1800 existed in the colony.

These misfortunes led to the dissolution of the London Company. King James, having revoked their charter, issued a special commission for the government of the colony, all legislative and executive powers being vested in the commissioners. Under their arbitrary proceedings, the colony suffered severely; till at length, in 1636, the Virginians rose against the governor, Sir John Harvey, and sent him prisoner to England, despatching two delegates at the



same time to represent their grievances. They met with a stern reception from Charles I.; but their representations appear to have had some effect, as Sir William Berkeley, who was sent out as governor in 1639, was instructed again to allow the Virginians to elect representatives. Such was their gratitude to the King for this favour, that, during the civil wars that ensued, the Virginian colonists adhered to the royal cause; and even after the death of Charles I., they refused to acknowledge the authority of the Parliament, till, in 1652, Sir George Ayscue was sent with a powerful fleet to reduce them to submission. For nine years, the governors appointed by Cromwell continued to preside over the colony; but the predilection for royalty which the inhabitants had displayed, was remembered, and they were less favoured than the colonists of New England. Arbitrary restrictions upon the commerce of Virginia, checked its prosperity, and produced discontent. At length, the sudden death of Governor Matthews afforded to the adherents of the royal cause a favourable opportunity, which they gladly seized, to proclaim Charles II., and to invite Sir William Berkeley, the ex-governor, to resume his authority. Shortly afterwards, news arrived of the death of the Protector; and "Virginia for a long time boasted, that she was the last of the British dominions that submitted to Cromwell, and the first that returned to her allegiance."

These demonstrations of loyalty were speedily changed into murmurs and complaints by the conduct of Charles II., who, with characteristic ingratitude, not only disregarded the interests of the colony, but imposed additional restrictions upon its commerce, and granted to his favourites large tracts of land belonging to the colonists. An open and turbulent



insurrection was the consequence, headed by Nathaniel Bacon, a member of the council; and for some months, a civil war raged in Virginia with all its peculiar horrors. James Town was burned, and some of the finest and best cultivated districts were laid waste. The arrival of fresh troops from England, and the death of Bacon, terminated the insurrection; many of the rebels were tried by courts-martial, and executed; and at length, tranquillity was restored. Notwithstanding these disorders and the arbitrary restrictions upon commerce, the colony had so far recovered in the year 1688, that the number of inhabitants exceeded 60,000.\*

The State of Virginia, though its territorial limits are much more contracted than those of the original colony, which embraced North Carolina and Maryland as well as Kentucky, still includes a territory as large as England. In 1790, its population had risen from 60,000 to 747,610 persons. It now amounts to 1,133,410, of whom 450,000 are slaves. Virginia ranks first in power and population among the southern States, and it has hitherto maintained a predominant influence over the rest of the Union. The illustrious Washington was a native of Virginia, which boasts of having given four presidents, out of five, to the American Federacy. This circumstance has been not unreasonably adduced as a proof of the ascendancy of the Virginian aristocracy, who, while encouraging the prevalence of democracy in the other States, have cautiously excluded it from the precincts of their own State.† Although the attachment to

\* Hale, pp. 26—30.

† The right of suffrage in Virginia is restricted to freeholders. The senate consists of twenty-four members, chosen for four years, one-fourth going out every year, by which means it secures the ad-



royalty has become extinct among the Virginian landholders, in no part of the Union has there survived so much of the spirit of feudal and monarchical institutions.

Of the two Companies incorporated by King James, the history of one only has now been traced. To the Plymouth Company was assigned a territory further to the north, at that time called North Virginia. The first ship sent out by this Company in 1606, was captured by the Spaniards. The next year, forty-five men were sent out as settlers, who were left at the mouth of the river Kennebec; but in 1608, dispirited by the hardships they had endured, they returned to England in ships which had brought them provisions and succour; and the Company, disappointed and dissatisfied, desisted for a while from any further attempts to effect a settlement. In 1614, Captain John Smith (the same who acted so conspicuous a part in the settlement of Virginia) made a voyage to the northward, touching first at the mouth of the Kennebec, whence he proceeded, in an open boat, to survey the coast as far as the southern boundary of Massachusetts Bay. On his return to England, he presented to Prince Charles a map of the country, and gave him so glowing a description of its beauty and other recommendations, that the prince, in the warmth of his admiration, declared that it should bear the name of **NEW ENGLAND**.

Smith afterwards made an attempt to transport a colony thither, which was unsuccessful; and New England might long have remained the abode only of wild beasts and savages, had not motives more powerful

vantages of a permanent council. Its laws forbid real property to be attached for debt, and landed estates are generally left to the eldest son.



than the love of gain or the spirit of adventure, impelled men, differing in character from all others who had been founders of colonies, to select it as the place of their residence.

In the year 1618, a body of zealous and exemplary English Puritans,\* who had emigrated to Leyden, in Holland, in order to enjoy that liberty of conscience which was denied them by the high commission court under James I., were led to turn their eyes towards America as an asylum from the evils to which they were still exposed. After due inquiries concerning the country, and many consultations with their friends in England concerning the dangers and difficulties that might attend the enterprise, they resolved to make the attempt, and accordingly applied to the London or South Virginian Company for a grant of land. To ensure success, they represented, "that they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; that they were knit together by a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other and of the whole; that it was not with them as with other

\* At their head were Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster; the former subsequently the minister, the latter the ruling elder of the congregation. "Many English writers," remarks Dr. Dwight, "have confounded Mr. Robinson and his people with the Brownists. Bayle more justly observes, that he was 'a principal overthrower of the Brownists'—'a man of excellent parts, of the most learned, polished, and modest spirit which ever separated from the Church of England.'"—Dwight, vol. i. p. 104. Neale states, that, upon his removal to Leyden, he erected a congregation upon the model of the Brownists, but that, by conversing with Dr. Ames and other learned men, he was led to adopt less rigid principles; and that his catholic views on the subject of communion, "gained him the character of a semi-separatist." He is styled by Neale, "the father of the Independents."—Neale, vol. ii. p. 43.



men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves home again."

"A grant was obtained, and in September 1620, a part of them set sail for Hudson's River; but the master of the ship, bribed, it is said, by the Dutch, who claimed the sole right of trading in that quarter, carried them further north; and the first land they discovered, was Cape Cod. This, they were aware, was beyond the limits of the London Company; but it was now November, and too late in the season to put again to sea. They therefore determined to land at the first place they could find suitable for a settlement.

"Before leaving the ship, the heads of families and freemen, forty-one in number, signed a solemn covenant, combining themselves into a body politic, for the purpose of making equal laws for the general good. They ordained that a governor and assistants should be annually chosen; but the sovereign power remained in the whole body of freemen. John Carver was elected governor.

"On the 11th of December (O. S.), they landed on a desolate coast. Sterile sands and gloomy forests were the only objects that met their view. The severity of the cold, greater than they had yet experienced, admonished them to seek protection against it; and their first employment was the erection of huts in the most convenient and sheltered situations. In these miserable abodes they passed the winter; those, at least, who survived it. By the succeeding spring, one half of their number had perished, exhausted by continual suffering, and by the privation of every worldly comfort which they had been accustomed to enjoy.\*

\* The whole number that sailed from Plymouth, was 101. Six



“ Their settlement was found to be within the limits of the Plymouth Company, from which they solicited and obtained a grant of land ; but they were never incorporated by the King. They called the place New Plymouth. They often received small additions to their number, which, in 1630, amounted to 300.

“ In the mean time, the same causes that drove Mr. Robinson and his congregation from England, had continued to operate. In 1627, an association of English puritans, residing in Dorchester and the vicinity, was formed for the purpose of planting a colony in New England, to which they and their brethren might repair, and, in seclusion and safety, worship God according to the dictates of conscience. They obtained from the Plymouth Company, a grant of the territory which now constitutes a part of the State of Massachusetts ; and sent over, under the direction of John Endicott, a small number of people to begin a plantation. These, in September, landed at a place called by the Indians, Naumkeag, and by themselves, Salem.

“ The next year, they obtained a charter from the Crown, by which the usual powers of a corporation were conferred upon the grantees, by the name of the ‘ Governor and Company of Massachusetts’ Bay, in New England.’ It ordained, that the officers of the Company should be a governor, a deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants, to be named, in the first instance, by the Crown, and afterwards elected by the corporation. Four stated meetings of all the members were to be held annually, under the denomination of the General Court, at which they were authorized to admit freemen or members, and to make such ordinances in the month of December, and 46 more in the course of the winter.



nances or laws, not repugnant to the laws of England, as they might deem expedient. The colonists and their descendants were declared to be entitled to all the rights of natural born English subjects.

“ At a General Court held in London, in 1629, the officers prescribed by the charter were elected, and several ordinances were adapted for the government of the Company. Three hundred people were sent over, of whom one hundred, dissatisfied with the situation of Salem, removed to Charles-town. Religion was the first object of their care, in the country they had adopted. A religious covenant was agreed upon, and a confession of faith drawn up, to which their assent was given. Pastors were chosen, and were, from necessity, installed into their sacred offices, by the imposition of the hands of the brethren.

“ The ensuing winter was a period of uncommon suffering and sickness. The cold was intense; the houses were unfinished; the provisions were insufficient and unwholesome. Before spring, nearly half their number perished, ‘ lamenting that they could not live to see the rising glories of the faithful.’

“ These calamities had some effect in deterring others from joining them; but the consideration, that the general courts were held, the officers elected, and the laws enacted in London, had still greater influence. It did not comport with the views and feelings of those who disdained to submit to authority in matters of faith, to consent to remove to the New World, and there be governed by laws which they could have no part in enacting. Representations to this effect were made to the Company, who resolved that the government and patent should be removed to Massachusetts. This wise resolution gave such encouragement to emigration, that, in 1630, more than



1500 persons came over, and founded Boston and several adjacent towns. Of these persons, all were respectable, and many were from illustrious and noble families. Having been accustomed to a life of ease and enjoyment, their sufferings the first year were great, and proved fatal to many; among others, to the Lady Arabella Johnson, who, to use the words of an early historian of the country, 'came from a paradise of plenty and pleasure in the family of a noble earl, into a wilderness of wants, and, although celebrated for her many virtues, yet, was not able to encounter the adversity she was surrounded with; and in about a month after her arrival, she ended her days at Salem, where she first landed.' Mr. Johnson, her husband, overcome with grief, survived her but a short time.

"Before December, 200 perished. On the 24th of that month, the cold became intense. Such a Christmas-eve, they had never before known. Yet, the inclemency of the weather continued to increase. They were almost destitute of provisions, and many were obliged to subsist on clams, muscles, and other shellfish, with nuts and acorns instead of bread. Many more died; but, in this extremity, that ardour of conviction which had impelled them to emigrate, remained in full force; and they met with a firm, unshaken spirit, the calamities which assailed them." \*

Of this new colony, who planted themselves at Boston, John Winthrop, Esq., had been chosen governor in England, and he was re-elected after his arrival. He continued to hold this office for four years and a half. He has left behind, an exact journal of the occurrences between the years 1630 and 1649,

\* Hale, pp. 34—39.



which affords some curious and interesting illustrations of the manners and condition of these pious emigrants. The houses of the first settlers of Boston were, of course, extremely simple and unadorned. Wooden chimneys were common for many years ; and "a wainscot of clap-boards" in the house of the deputy-governor, was regarded as a highly censurable piece of extravagance. The house of the "ladye Moodye" at Salem, a person of high consideration, was nine feet high, having a chimney in the centre. The furniture of the early colonists, was of a somewhat different quality. Much of it was brought from England and was of considerable value, forming a strange contrast to the humble architecture of the huts or sheds in which it was often deposited. Thus, in an inventory of the effects of Governor Winthrop's fourth wife, dated 1647, are mentioned, "silk curtains, brass andirons, *cheny* plates and saucers, and Turkey carpets." The country furnished fish and game in abundance ; "and though," says the Governor, (in a letter dated November 29, 1630,) "we have not beef and mutton,\* yet, God be praised, we want them not ; our Indian corn answers for all." Groceries were soon brought over in abundance from England ; but tea and coffee were, at that time, luxuries unknown in Europe. Many laws were early made "against tobacco, and immodest fashions, and costly apparel ;" and attempts equally misjudged and unavailing were

\* "The first neat cattle introduced into New England, were a bull and three heifers, brought from England by Mr. Winslow, afterwards Governor of the colony, to Plymouth. More were imported from time to time. The second Salem Company brought with them a considerable number, together with some horses, sheep, and goats. After a little period, they became so numerous, as to supply all the wants of the inhabitants."—Dwight, vol. i. p. 110.



made, to regulate the spirit of gain, as well as to check a disposition to expense. The prices of labour and of commodities were fixed repeatedly by positive laws; but experience soon proved the futility of all such projects. Another feature of their legislative policy, has exposed "the pilgrim fathers" of New England to the charge of intolerance. At a general court held in 1631, they ordained, that none but those who had made a profession of religion, and had become members of some church, should be admitted members of the Corporation, or enjoy the privilege of voting. This law, however contrary to just views of political liberty, was in strict accordance with the avowed motives of their emigration. Their object, it has been justly remarked, was, "to plant a church, not an empire; and they were not merely a religious, but a theological," or rather an ecclesiastical community.\* "The settlers of New England," remarks Dr. Dwight, "fled from persecution. Every government in the Christian world claimed, at that time, the right to control the religious conduct of its subjects. This claim, it is true, finds no warrant in the Scriptures. But its legitimacy never had been questioned, and, therefore, never investigated. All that was then contended for, was, that it should be exercised with justice and moderation. Our ancestors brought with them to America, the very same opinions concerning this subject, which were entertained by their fellow-citizens, and by all other men of all Christian countries. As they came to New England, and underwent all the hardships of colonizing it, for the sake of enjoying their religion unmolested, they naturally were very reluctant that others, who had borne no

\* North American Review, No. liv. p. 29.



share of their burdens, should wantonly intrude upon their favourite object, and disturb the peace of themselves and their families. With these views, they began to exercise the claim above mentioned, and, like the people of all other countries, carried the exercise to lengths which nothing can justify. But it ought ever to be remembered, that no other civilized nation can take up the first stone to cast against them." \*

It was not long before a case arose, which put to the test the tolerant nature of their theocratic principles of government. In the year 1634, Roger Williams, the minister of Salem, having occasioned disturbances, by advancing tenets which were considered as not only heretical, but seditious, and being found irreclaimable, was ordered to leave the colony. The cause of his banishment is very differently stated. By some writers, he is represented as having been expelled simply for avowing the doctrine, that the civil magistrate is bound to grant equal protection to every denomination of Christians; a doctrine too liberal for the age in which he lived.† If Dr. Dwight, however, is correct, this was by no means the fact. "This gentleman," says the learned Writer, "came to New England in the year 1631, and was chosen as an assistant in the ministry to Mr. Skelton, at Salem. His peculiar opinions had given offence to the magistrates before his

\* Dwight, vol. i. p. 134.

† See Hale's History, p. 94. Carey and Lea, p. 113. "On his arrival at Boston," it is stated in the latter work, "he promulgated sentiments respecting freedom of conscience, for which the minds of men were not yet prepared. He maintained, to the astonished and indignant clergy of Massachusetts, that all men were entitled of right to the same exercise of their opinions on religious subjects." No reference is made to his extravagancies on other points.



ordination. After he was ordained, he persuaded the church at Salem to send admonitory letters to that of Boston, and to several others, in which they accused the magistrates who were members of them, of gross offences, and denied the character of purity to all the churches but their own. It will naturally be supposed, that these letters were not very favourably received. Soon afterwards, Mr. Williams impeached and denied the purity of even the Salem church, and separated himself from it, because it would not refuse to hold communion with the other churches in New England. In the mean time, he separated from his own wife, and would perform no act of religious worship when she was present, because she attended divine service at the church in Salem. He also influenced Mr. Endicot to cut the cross out of the King's colours, as being a relic of anti-christian superstition; and taught, that it was not lawful for a pious man to commune in family prayer, or in taking an oath, with persons whom he judged to be unregenerate. He would not take, nor, so far as was in his power, suffer others to take, the oath of fidelity, because the magistrates who administered it were, in his view, unrenewed. He also taught, that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray. Mr. Williams, I fully believe to have been an upright man. What was very remarkable, he held the very just as well as liberal opinion, which one would hardly expect to find united with those mentioned above, that 'to punish a man for any matters of his conscience, is persecution.' Efforts were made to reclaim this gentleman; but they were made in vain. He was therefore banished from Massachusetts.

"In 1638, Mr. William Coddington, one of the original planters of Massachusetts, a respectable mer-



chant in Boston, and one of the first assistants (in council), disgusted with the proceedings of the government against the Antinomians, and not improbably attached to their doctrines, having sold his estate, quitted the jurisdiction, and, with a number of his associates, settled on the island of Aquidnick (or Aquetnec), in Narrhagansett Bay, and named it Rhode Island." \*

Such was the commencement of that colony, of which, though Coddington was the first governor, Roger Williams is to be considered as the founder and legislator, as the settlement was made under his advice ; and to him is attributed the merit of having first set an example of the equal toleration of all religious sects in the same political community.†

To return to the history of Massachusetts. In 1635, this colony received a fresh accession of emigrants from England, among whom were two individuals who were destined to act conspicuous parts in the subsequent affairs of their native country. One was Hugh Peters, afterwards one of the chaplains of the Protector ; the other Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Vane. The latter was at this time but five-and-twenty years of age ; but, by his grave deportment, his engaging manners, and his ardent professions of attachment to liberty, he so ingratiated himself with the settlers, that, the year after his arrival, he was chosen governor of the colony. His popularity, however, we are told, was transient. " During his administration, the

\* Dwight, vol. 1. pp. 113—115.

† Hale, p. 95. This toleration seems, however, to have been by no means so complete as has been represented. We are told, that the supreme assembly of this State, when invested with legislative power by royal charter in 1663, granted the right of voting to all Christian sects, *except Roman Catholics*.—*Ib.* p. 96.



celebrated Mrs. Hutchinson, a woman who was distinguished for her eloquence, and had imbibed the enthusiasm of the age, instituted weekly meetings for persons of her own sex, in which she commented on the sermons of the preceding Sunday, and advanced certain mystical and extravagant doctrines; these spread rapidly among the people, and many became converts. Governor Vane, with Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright, two distinguished clergymen, embraced them with ardour; but Lieutenant-Governor Winthrop, and a majority of the churches, deemed them heretical and seditious. Great excitement was produced among the people; many conferences were held; public fasts were appointed; a general synod was summoned; and, after much intemperate discussion, her opinions were determined to be erroneous, and she and some of her adherents were banished from the colony.

“ Not being again chosen governor, Vane returned in disgust to England; engaged in the civil wars which soon afterwards afflicted the country; sustained high offices in the republican party; and, after the restoration of Charles II., was accused of high treason, convicted, and executed. Peters pursued a similar career, and met with the same fate.

“ In such high repute at this time were the settlements at Massachusetts, that other Englishmen, still more conspicuous, had determined to leave their native land, that they might enjoy in a desert the civil and religious liberty which was denied them at home. Among these were, Mr. Hampden, Sir Arthur Haselrig, and Oliver Cromwell, whom King Charles, by express order, detained when on the point of embarking. Little did he imagine, that, by this act of arbitrary



power, he kept within his kingdom those votaries of freedom, who were destined to overturn his throne, and bring his head to the block." \*

By the settlement of Massachusetts, the attention of emigrants was diverted from the colony of Plymouth, where the soil was less fertile. It nevertheless continued to increase in population, although slowly. The territory occupied by the Plymouth colonists, had been originally inhabited by the native tribe of the Wampanoags; but, a few years before the arrival of the English, an epidemic disease had swept away a great number of the Indians, almost exterminating whole tribes; and in 1633, the small-pox destroyed many of those who had survived the pestilence. The territory contiguous to the first settlements of the English, "seemed to have been providentially made vacant for their reception." Massasoit, the chief sachem of this tribe, was glad, in the reduced state of his nation, to enter into a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the colonists, which he maintained, without any serious interruption, to his death.†

In 1631, Wahquimacut, a sachem on Connecticut River, terrified by the power of the warlike tribe of Pequods, repaired to Plymouth and Boston, to invite

\* Hale, pp. 41, 42. See Neale's History of the Puritans, vol. II. (8vo.) p. 207. The statement rests on the authority of Dugdale and Dr. George Bates. There were eight sail of ships in the Thames, bound for New England, and filled with Puritan families, among whom were the three illustrious individuals above mentioned; "when the council, being informed of their design, issued out an order, dated May 1, 1630, to make stay of those ships, and to put on shore all the provisions destined for the voyage; and, to prevent the like for the future, his Majesty prohibited all masters and owners of ships to set forth any ship for New England with passengers, without special license from the privy council."

† Dwight, vol. i. p. 108.



the colonists to make a settlement in his country: Governor Winslow accordingly made an excursion to Connecticut River the following autumn, and selected a spot for the erection of a trading-house. The Dutch at Manhattan (New York), apprised of this project, determined to anticipate them, and immediately despatched a party, who erected a small fort, with two cannon, at Hartford. In September 1633, a company from Plymouth, having prepared the frame of a house, put it on board a vessel, and passing by the Dutch fort, conveyed it to the spot previously selected near the mouth of Windsor River, and, having raised and covered it, fortified it with palisades. The Dutch, considering them as intruders, sent, the next year, a band of seventy men to dislodge them; but finding them strongly posted, they relinquished the design. In the autumn of 1635, many of the inhabitants of Dorchester and Watertown, in Massachusetts, having heard of the fertile meadows on Connecticut River, removed thither with their ministers, and began settlements at Mattaneang and Pauquaug, now called Windsor and Wethersfield. During the ensuing winter, their sufferings from scarcity of provisions were extreme; and many, in dread of starvation, returned to Massachusetts. In a journey of fourteen days through a dreary wilderness, at that inclement season, they encountered indescribable hardships. In the same year, John Winthrop, Esq., son of Governor Winthrop, arrived from England with a commission, given to him by Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and their associates, who had bought of Robert, Earl of Warwick, the patent of Connecticut, March 19, 1631; which commission constituted him "governor of the river Connecticut with the places adjoining thereunto,



for the space of one year after his arrival." The territory conveyed by the Connecticut patent, included, according to the apparent import of the description, four-fifths of the State of Rhode Island, and one-fourth of Massachusetts ; and so little was then known of the geography of the New World, that the grant was made to extend, in longitude, from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea ! The articles agreed upon between Mr. Winthrop and the patentees, however, confined his exertions to the grounds on Connecticut River, requiring him to erect a fort near its mouth, for the security of the river and the safety of the planters. The fort was scarcely completed, when a party sent by the Dutch of New York, arrived at the entrance of the river ; but the English, having mounted two cannon, forced them to retire.\* The next spring, those who had been compelled by famine to revisit Massachusetts, returned to Connecticut. They were followed in June by another company, consisting of about one hundred men, women, and children, headed by their minister, Mr. Thomas Hooker, who, travelling through the wilderness, laid the foundation of Hartford.†

Attempts had been made, soon after the colonization of Plymouth, to begin a settlement in the territory to the north of Massachusetts, now called New Hampshire, under the patent granted by the Plymouth or New England Company to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, (two active members of the

\* The English fort was called Saybrook Fort from Lords Say and Seal, and Brook ; and the same name was subsequently given to the town.—Dwight, vol. I. p. 112. Hale, pp. 84, 5.

† " They were nearly a fortnight on their journey ; they drove their cattle with them, and subsisted, by the way, upon the milk of their cows.—Hale, p. 85.



council of Plymouth,) comprising the country "between the rivers Merrimac and Sagadahock, back to the Great Lakes and the river of Canada." A few adventurers planted themselves at Newichwannoc (Dover), in 1624. In 1629, a company of settlers, at the head of whom was the Rev. John Wheelwright, purchased of several sachems the country between the Merrimac and the Piscataqua, from the ocean as far back as the township of Amherst, about fifty miles inland: by this company were laid the foundations of the towns of Portsmouth, Dover, Hampton, and Exeter.\* The inhabitants of these towns met with many difficulties, owing partly to the severity of the climate, partly to intestine divisions; and they were involved in many perplexing disputes with contending patentees, to whom the same land had been granted successively over and over again.† The Indians, too, in this neighbourhood were formidable, while the settlers were comparatively few and feeble. At length, in 1641, these little republics, distrusting their ability to protect themselves, formed a coalition with Massachusetts; and they long remained a part of that colony. It was not till 1679, that New Hampshire was, by royal decree, constituted a separate province, contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants.‡

The rapid progress of the English settlements at

\* In 1631, the first house was built at Portsmouth; but the first house in New Hampshire was built in 1624, at the mouth of the Piscataqua, and was called Mason Hall in honour of the patentee.

† In 1629, the territory already purchased of the Indians by Wheelwright, was granted to Mason alone; and it then first received the name of New Hampshire. The civil wars in England diverted the attention of Mason from his grant; but in 1675, his grandson applied to the King in council, to obtain possession of the lands granted to his ancestor, and the peace of the colony was long disturbed by the claims of the litigants.

‡ Dwight, vol. i. pp. 112, 13; Hale, pp. 78, 9.



length excited the jealousy of the natives. Within the boundaries of Rhode Island and Connecticut lived two warlike tribes, the Pequods and the Narragansets. The latter were friendly, the former hostile to the Whites. Between the two tribes, an inveterate enmity existed ; but the more sagacious and politic Pequods proposed to suspend their animosities, in order to direct their united strength against the strangers, before they should become too strong to be resisted. At first, the Narragansets wavered ; but, their hatred of the Pequods overpowering the suggestions of policy, they disclosed the proposal to the English, and invited their concurrence in a war against the common enemy. Roused to a sense of their danger, the colonists of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut agreed to unite their forces, and attempt the entire destruction of the Pequods. In May 1637, Captain Mason, with eighty men, principally from Connecticut, and three hundred friendly Indians, entered the country of the enemy, and attacked one of their principal villages. The resistance was brave and obstinate, and the issue of the battle for some time doubtful ; but the Whites, having forced their way into the palisadoed enclosure, set fire to the wigwams ; they then surrounded the town, and, of 500 or 600 within the enclosure, few escaped. In June, another body of troops, principally from Massachusetts, marched into the Pequod country, and surrounding a swamp into which a party of the enemy had retired, took 80 captive. Those who escaped, were pursued to another swamp near New-haven, where the whole strength of the tribe was collected. This was, in like manner, surrounded, and a sharp contest ensued ; but the Whites were victorious. Two hundred Pequods were killed or made prisoners, and the remainder fled



to the country of the Mohawks. The complete success of the English, in this short war with the natives, gave the neighbouring tribes so exalted an idea of their prowess, that, for nearly forty years, they were neither attacked nor molested.

In this same year (1637), the foundation was laid of a fifth colony, within the limits of the Connecticut patent. In June of that year, two ships arrived at Boston, from England, having on board Mr. Davenport, Mr. Eaton, and many other persons of high respectability, whom religious motives had impelled to emigrate. As some of them possessed great wealth, the General Court of Massachusetts, desirous of detaining them in the colony, offered them any place they might select for a plantation. Wishing, however, to institute a civil and religious community conformable to their peculiar principles, they removed the next year to Quinnipiac, which they called New Haven. Soon after their arrival, at the close of a day of fasting and prayer, they subscribed what they termed a plantation covenant, solemnly binding themselves, "until otherwise ordered, to be governed in all things, of a civil as well as religious concern, by the rules which the Scriptures held forth to them." They purchased of the natives large tracts of land; and laid out their town in squares, designing it for a great and elegant city. In 1639, all the free planters assembled to lay the foundation of their civil and religious polity; when it was resolved, that none but church members should be allowed the privilege of voting, or be eligible to office; all the officers of the colony were to be annually elected; and it was declared, that the word of God should be the only rule for ordering the affairs of the commonwealth. Such was the original constitution of New-haven;



But, as the population increased, and new towns were settled, different regulations were adopted, and the constitution and laws became gradually assimilated to those of Connecticut; with which colony they were eventually united, much against their wishes, by royal charter.

Ten years had now elapsed since the first settlement was made at Salem. Within that period, it is computed, that no fewer than 21,000 persons had arrived from England in Massachusetts.\* But, with the ascendancy of the Puritan party at home, the motive for emigration ceased; and it is supposed, that, for many years afterwards, more persons returned to England, than left it for the colonies. Such, however, were the character and virtues of the emigrants, and such their fortitude and enterprise, that they continued to increase with astonishing rapidity, both in wealth and numbers. And a vote of the House of Commons, stating, "that the plantations in New

\* Neale says: "In the succeeding twelve years of Archbishop Laud's administration (1629—1640), there went over about 4000 planters, who laid the foundation of several little towns and villages up and down the country, carrying over with them, in materials, money, and cattle, &c., not less than to the value of 192,000*l.*, besides the merchandize intended for traffic with the Indians. Upon the whole, it has been computed, that the four settlements of New England, *viz.*, Plymouth, the Massachusetts' Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven, all which were accomplished before the beginning of the civil wars, drained England of 400,000*l.* or 500,000*l.* in money; (a great sum in those days;) and if the persecution of the Puritans had continued twelve years longer, it is thought, that a fourth part of the riches of the kingdom would have passed out of it through that channel. The chief leaders of the people into these parts, were the Puritan ministers, who, being hunted from one diocese to another, at last chose this wilderness for their retreat. I have before me a list of 77 divines, who became pastors of sundry little churches and congregations in that country before the year 1640, all of whom were in orders in the church of England."—Neale, vol. ii. pp. 135, 136.



England had had good and prosperous success, without any public charge to the State," is quoted by an historian of those times as an honourable testimony of the high merit of the colonists. During the civil wars, the New England colonists could not but embrace with ardour the cause of civil liberty; and the Parliament rewarded their attachment, by exempting them from all taxes. In Cromwell, when advanced to the Protectorate, they found a sincere and zealous patron. After the conquest of Ireland, he invited them to return and settle in that country; and subsequently, having conquered Jamaica, he endeavoured to persuade them to remove to that fine and fertile island. But his arguments were unavailing. Enjoying in their present abode complete religious freedom, they were unwilling to hazard that privilege in the pursuit of inferior advantages. At the end of fifty years from the arrival of the first emigrants at Plymouth, the New England settlements were supposed to contain 120 towns, and as many thousand inhabitants.\*

In the circumstances of its origin, in the character and motives of the first settlers, the colony of New England differs from any other that has ever been planted in any part of the globe. Had not a cruel necessity impelled them to leave their native land for the western wilderness, the idea of such a polity as they erected, would still have been regarded as Utopian. That it was in all respects consonant with either political wisdom or correct views of the genius of Christianity, cannot be maintained; but it may fairly be stated, that their errors and defects were those of the age in which they lived, while their virtues, which rose almost to the heroic height, would have shed lustre upon any age. Yet, even in America, while their

\* Hale, pp. 44—47, 53.



characters have sometimes been held up as models of almost supernatural excellence, they have more generally been depicted in far different colours.\* A contemporary American writer has vindicated "the pilgrim fathers" of New England from the flippant censures of his degenerate countrymen, with equal discrimination and force. "The first colonists of Massachusetts were," he remarks, "unquestionably, on the whole, a highly respectable community. They were among the best specimens of what was then, and is now, the best class of society in Great Britain,—its well educated commoners ;—men superior, perhaps, to any of their successors in deep and extensive learning, and second to none for fervent piety, for stern integrity, and disinterested patriotism. But that all the early settlers of New England were of this description, is a supposition which, though it sometimes seems to have been taken for granted, is manifestly absurd. There were several of the same stamp with those who find a place in every new country, needy and desperate adventurers, who hoped to find in a remote settlement, the subsistence which they were unwilling to procure by honest exertions in their native land.† Crimes, even of the most shocking description, sometimes occurred ; and there was, even in the more respectable classes of society, a deficiency in refinement and deli-

\* "There are many among us, who seemed to be ignorant of almost every event which occurred in Massachusetts during the seventeenth century, except the destruction of the Aborigines, the persecution of the Quakers, and the execution of the witches."—*N. Amer. Rev.* No. liv. p. 24.

† Even Dr. Dwight, the zealous apologist of the New England colonists, represents the first settlers in Connecticut, as "not a little perplexed by loose ministers and magistrates ; such as always withdraw from regular, well principled society, to indulge their mischievous dispositions, and establish their influence in more imperfect communities."—*Dwight*, vol. i. p. 113.



cacy of manners, which proves, more than any thing else, the progress of society since the seventeenth century. If, however, we can claim any superiority as an enlightened and refined community, over our forefathers, let us never forget, how much of this pre-eminence we owe to their wisdom and liberality. The erection of the venerable universities of Harvard and Yale; the adoption, to a great degree, of those statutes of descent and distribution, beautifully denominated by Judge Story, 'the only true and just Agrarian laws,' which have utterly obliterated the few vestiges of aristocracy which had found a place in our land; the provisions for the support of religion, which combine so happily the interest of the public with the liberty of the individual; and, above all, the introduction of free schools; these great sources of our freedom, or equality, our intellectual and moral power, were all established by the founders of New England, during the first century of its existence. Our fathers were no devotees of ancient prejudices, anxious to exclude every ray of intellectual light which might disclose the effects of their own political and religious systems; no crafty tyrants, labouring to establish the power of the few by perpetuating the ignorance of the many; no wild fanatics, who thought that divine truth could be only contaminated by the admixture of human learning. They were enthusiasts, indeed, but it was a dignified and generous enthusiasm;—an enthusiasm which sought noble ends by noble means. It was their great object, to render their posterity a religious, by rendering them an enlightened people. We may smile at the whimsical peculiarities of the pilgrims, or lament their graver faults; but we shall shew little of the boasted liberality of the present day, if we can read their annals with no other emotions than these; if we fail to render



due homage to their unwavering singleness of purpose, their unconquerable perseverance, their unquenchable zeal for the dissemination of pure truth, and for the prosperity of their adopted country."\*

It has already been mentioned, that the territory now denominated New York, was first colonized by the Dutch. "In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman, but sailing in the service of the Dutch East India Company, discovered Long Island, the harbour of New York, and the river to which his name has been given. In 1613, several Dutch merchants, to whom the Republic of Holland had granted the exclusive right of trading in this part of America, erected a fort near Albany, which they named Fort Orange, and a few trading houses on the island of New York, then called by the Indians, Manhattan.

"In the same year Captain Argal, who had been sent by the settlers of Virginia to drive the French from their settlements on the Bay of Fundy, visited, on his return, the Dutch on Hudson's River. Claiming the country for his nation, by right of prior discovery, he demanded their acknowledgement of its authority. Being few in number, they prudently submitted, without attempting to resist. But, receiving a reinforcement the next year, they again asserted the right of Holland to the country, and erected Fort Amsterdam, on the south end of the island.

"The English, for many years, forbore to interfere with their pursuits or claims. In 1621, the Republic, desirous of founding a colony in America, granted to the Dutch West India Company, an extensive territory on both sides of the Hudson. The country was

\* N. Amer. Rev. No. liv. pp. 35, 36. See also Dwight, vol. 1. pp. 132—143.



called New Netherlands. The boundaries were not accurately defined, but were considered by the Company as including Connecticut River to the North, and Delaware River to the South. In 1623, they erected a fort on the Delaware, which they called Nassau; and ten years afterwards, another, on the Connecticut, which they called Good Hope. Near the former, the Swedes had a settlement. From the interfering claims of the two nations, quarrels arose between the settlers, which, after continuing several years, terminated in the subjugation of the Swedes. Towards the fort on the Connecticut, the settlements of the English rapidly approached, and soon occasioned disputes which had a longer duration and a different result.

“The Dutch did not escape the calamity of war with the savages. Hostilities commenced in 1643, continued several years, and were very destructive to both parties. William Kieft, the Governor of the New Netherlands, invited Captain Underhill, who had been a soldier in Europe, and had made himself conspicuous in New Hampshire, for his eccentricities in religion and conduct, to take command of his troops. Collecting a flying party of 150 men, he was enabled to preserve the Dutch settlements from total destruction. The number of Indians whom he killed in the course of the war, was supposed to exceed 400. In 1646, a severe battle was fought on that part of Horse-neck called Strickland's Plain. The Dutch were victorious; on both sides, great numbers were slain; and for a century afterwards, the graves of the dead were distinctly visible.

“In 1650, Peter Stuyvesant, then the able governor of the New Netherlands, met the commissioners of the New England colonies at Hartford, where, after



much altercation, a line of partition between their respective territories was fixed by mutual agreement. Long Island was divided between them: the Dutch retained the lands which they occupied in Connecticut, surrendering their claim to the residue. But Charles II., denying their right to any portion of the country, determined to expel them from it. In 1664, he granted to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, all the territory between Nova Scotia and Delaware Bay; and though England and Holland were then at peace, he immediately sent three ships with 300 troops to put him in possession of his grant. The commander of the expedition, Colonel Nichols, summoned Governor Stuyvesant to surrender the town, promising to secure to the inhabitants their lives, liberty, and property. At first, he refused; but the magistrates and people, allured by the proffered terms, constrained him to consent. Fort Orange surrendered soon afterwards, to Sir George Carteret. In compliment to the Duke, the name of Manhattan was changed to New York, and that of Orange to Albany.

“ In 1673, England and Holland being then at war, a few Dutch ships were despatched to reconquer the country. On their arrival at Staten Island, a short distance from the city, John Manning, who had command of the fort, sent down a messenger, and treacherously made terms with the enemy. The Dutch sailed up the harbour, and took possession of the fort and city, without firing or receiving a shot. The next year, peace was concluded, and the country was restored to the English. The Duke obtained a new patent, confirming his title to the province.” \* On his

\* Halc, pp. 97—101. It was agreed by the treaty of Westminster in 1674, that Surinam should remain the property of the Dutch for ever, in exchange for the province of New York.



## NORTH AMERICA.

Accession to the throne, it of course merged in the rights of the crown.

The settlement of the minor states of New Jersey and Delaware will require but a brief notice. The first settlement within the limits of New Jersey, was made by the Danes, about the year 1624. In 1627, a number of Swedes and Finns, sent out by a Swedish company under the patronage of King Gustavus Adolphus, having purchased of the natives the land on both sides of the Delaware, made their first settlement on its western bank, near Christina creek. They retained possession of the country until 1655, when they were expelled by the Dutch; and New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, were comprised in the territory to which they gave the name of the New Netherlands. On its conquest by the English, the tract between the Hudson and Delaware rivers was conveyed by the Duke of York to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret; and it received the name of New Jersey in compliment to the latter, who had been governor of the island of Jersey, and had held it for Charles I. during his contest with the Parliament. After various transfers and changes, the proprietary right was surrendered to the Crown; and up to the year 1738, New Jersey and New York had the same governor, though with a separate assembly. In that year, the inhabitants petitioned the King to have a separate governor, and their request was acceded to. Delaware, which received from the original settlers the name of New Sweden, was at first considered as a part of the province of New York; but was afterwards governed, for twenty years, as a part of Pennsylvania, having been purchased by the founder of that state. At length, in 1703, it obtained the privilege of a separate assembly, but remained subject to the same jurisdiction.



The history of the settlement of Pennsylvania, (next to New York the largest of the Middle States,) derives peculiar interest from the character and policy of its truly illustrious founder. William Penn was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, who, in the year 1655, rendered very important services to the English nation, by the conquest of Jamaica from the Spaniards, and by a naval victory over the Dutch. At an early period of his life, the son, to the great mortification of the Admiral, embraced the opinions of the Quakers, to whom persecution had about that period begun to attract the public attention. Of their sufferings for conscience' sake, Penn had his full share. Expelled from the University of Oxford, turned out of doors by his father, and repeatedly imprisoned for promulgating his sentiments, he displayed the most heroic constancy and fortitude; and ultimately, Sir William, convinced of his son's integrity, relented and discovered an affectionate concern for his welfare. On his death-bed, he charged him to do nothing against his conscience; and he obtained from the Duke of York, a promise to protect him as far as might be consistent.

So early as the year 1675, Penn had been chosen to arbitrate between John Fenwick of Connecticut, and Edward Byllinge, in reference to certain territories in New Jersey, which the latter had purchased of Lord Berkeley. Byllinge, being involved in debt, consented that the lands should be sold for the benefit of his creditors; and William Penn agreed to become one of the three trustees. The principal management of this concern devolving on Penn, his attention was thus drawn towards the New World. Disgusted with the vices of European society, and pained at the sufferings to which conscientious dissidents, particularly those of his own sect, were continually exposed in England, he



formed the project of founding a colony in that distant region, where the persecuted might find an asylum, and which might diffuse, by example and instruction, the light of Christianity among the barbarous nations of the New Continent. While superintending the settlement of New Jersey, he learned that there was an extensive tract of fertile, unoccupied land, lying between the territories of the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore. The Crown was indebted to his father's executors in the sum of about 16,000*l.*; and he petitioned that, as an acquittance for this debt, the tract might be granted to him. His request was acceded to, though not without objections being raised, particularly on the ground of his being a Quaker; and under the name of Pennsylvania, given to the province by King Charles in honour of the Admiral, the royal charter conveyed to him, in 1681,<sup>5</sup> all that tract extending westward from the river Delaware 5° of longitude, northward to the parallel of 42°, and southward to a little below that of 40°. From the want of sufficient attention to former charters, this grant interfered with the claims both of Maryland and of Connecticut on the south and east; and hence arose contentions with regard to boundaries, which were not settled till a century afterwards.

Desirous of selling his lands, Penn published an account of the province, with a copy of the royal charter; and by public advertisement he set forth the advantageous terms on which he offered to part with the land to emigrants. In July 1681, he sold to a company of merchants and other persons, (chiefly Quakers,) 20,000 acres at the rate of 20*l.* for every thousand acres; and those who rented lands, agreed to pay one penny yearly per acre. Before the emigrants embarked, certain "conditions and concessions" were



mutually agreed upon between them and the Proprietor, and subscribed by both parties. In the fall of the year, three ships, carrying out settlers, sailed for Pennsylvania. The pious and philanthropic Proprietor sent a letter to the Indians, informing them, that "the great God had been pleased to make him concerned in their part of the world, and that the king of the country where he lived, had given him a great province therein; but that he did not desire to enjoy it without their consent; that he was a man of peace, and that the people whom he sent were of the same disposition; and, if any difference should happen between them, it might be adjusted by an equal number of men chosen on both sides."\* The position chosen by these emigrants for a settlement, was above the confluence of the Delaware and the Schuylkill.

In April 1682, Penn published the Frame of Government which he designed for the new colony; also, a Body of Laws which had been examined and approved by the emigrants before they left England, and which reflects the highest honour on the wisdom, disinterestedness, and philanthropy of the legislator.†

\* The purchase of the province of Pennsylvania by the Founder of the Colony, has been the subject of high panegyric. It is observable, however, that Penn considered himself as having a right to dispose of lands, and actually disposed of a considerable portion, before he knew whether the Indians were inclined to part with them. In purchasing the lands of the Indians, he imitated the wise and just policy of Lord Baltimore and the "Pilgrim Fathers" of New England. The right of appropriation claimed by the British Government, resting upon mere priority of discovery, assumed that the lands were unoccupied; and in fact, the Indians could scarcely be regarded as occupying the territories which formed their hunting-grounds.

† Among the laws of Penn, for which too high praise can scarcely be awarded to him, are those relative to universal toleration; the penal code, from which punishment by death was entirely excluded; and those which respected the treatment of Indians and



Having obtained from the Duke of York, the cession of a tract of land on the south side of the Delaware, part of which was already occupied by settlers, he set sail for America in August, accompanied by about 2000 emigrants, chiefly of his own persuasion; and in October, landed at New Castle in Delaware. Upon this tract, which formed part of the "Territories," as the land conveyed to him by the Duke was called, he found about 3000 Dutch, Swedes, and Finns. He proceeded to Chester, where, on the 4th of December, he held a general assembly, at which the Territories were annexed to the province of Pennsylvania, and the Frame of Government and code of laws were, with some modifications, formally adopted. His next step was, to ratify in person the terms of purchase and treaty of friendship which his commissioners had concluded with the natives. He proceeded, therefore, accompanied by some friends and young people of both sexes, to a place then called Coaquannoc, the site of the city which he afterwards founded under the name of Philadelphia (Brotherly Love). On arriving there, he found the sachems and their tribes already assembling: they filled the woods as far as the eye could reach, and had a formidable appearance both from their number and their arms. The white men were a mere handful, without weapons of any kind; "so that dismay and terror had come upon them, had they not confided in the righteousness of their cause." The spot upon which the council was held, is a little higher up, and was then named Shackamaxon: it is now occupied by the houses of Kensington, which may be considered as a suburb of Philadelphia. Here stood an elm of

Negroes. In his regulations on these heads, he not only set an example to all subsequent legislators, but anticipated the reasonings of philosophy in more enlightened times.



prodigious size, to which the leaders on each side repaired, approaching each other under its wide-spreading branches. William Penn appeared in his usual dress, without sword or staff, or any other insignia than a sky-blue sash of silk net-work.\* On his right hand was Colonel Markham, his relation and secretary; on his left, his friend Pearson; and he was followed by a train of Quakers. Before him were carried various articles of merchandise, which, when they came near the sachems, were spread on the ground. In his hand he held a roll of parchment, containing the confirmation of the Treaty of Purchase and Amity. The chief sachem, on Penn's approach, put upon his own head a sort of chaplet in which appeared a small horn, the emblem of kingly power; and whenever the chief who had a right to wear it, put it on, the place was considered as sacred, and the persons of all present as inviolable. The Indians, on this sign, threw down their bows and arrows, and seated themselves round their chiefs in a semicircle. The chief sachem then announced, by means of an interpreter, that the nations were ready to hear the White chief. Upon this, Penn made a declaration of his pacific intentions, and, unrolling the parchment, explained, article by article, the conditions of the purchase and compact. He then paid them for the land, and made them many presents besides, and concluded the ceremony by presenting the parchment to the chief sachem, desiring him to preserve it carefully for three generations.

The settlement of no one of the colonies was commenced under auspices equally favourable. The experience of half a century had disclosed the evils to

\* This sash was, in 1813, in the possession of Thomas Kett, Esq. of Seething Hall, near Norwich.



be avoided, and pointed out the course to be pursued. The Indians, having been already taught to fear the power of the Whites, were the more easily conciliated by their kindness. The soil being fertile, the climate temperate, and game abundant, the first emigrants escaped most of the calamities which afflicted the settlers in the more northern and southern provinces; and the rapid increase of population was beyond all former example.

Before the end of the year, Philadelphia contained eighty houses and cottages. In March 1683, a second assembly was held in the new city, at which Penn complied with the wishes of the freemen and delegates, in granting them a second charter, differing, in several of the provisions, from the first. The judicious regulations now adopted,\* attracted numerous emigrants from various quarters; and to their salutary influence must be attributed, in great measure, the diligence, order, and habits of economy by which the Pennsylvanians are characterized. Within four years from the date of the royal grant to Penn, the province contained twenty settlements, and Philadelphia 2000 inhabitants.

In 1684, the Proprietor returned to England, leaving his province in profound tranquillity, under the administration of five commissioners chosen from the

\* One of these regulations ordained, "that, to prevent lawsuits, three arbitrators, to be called peace-makers, should be chosen by the country courts, to hear and determine small differences between man and man." Another law abrogated the common law of England respecting descents, and distributed the estates of persons dying intestate among their children, assigning however a double share to the eldest son. But the most important and remarkable regulation was that which ordained, "that no one acknowledging one God, and living peaceably in society, should be molested for his opinion or practice, or be compelled to frequent or to maintain any ministry whatever."



council. He arrived about the time of the accession of James II., and was received by the new monarch with marks of favour and regard, which eventually raised a popular clamour against him as a concealed papist and jesuit. He employed his influence with the King solely for the purpose of doing good, intermeddling little in party or political matters; and while labouring under the most unfounded aspersions, he published no fewer than three works in favour of the most ample toleration. This served only to strengthen the opinion that he was of the same religious principles as the King; and the accession of the Prince of Orange enabled his enemies to gratify their malignant animosity. On the most unfounded charges, he was three times brought to trial, and acquitted. After the third acquittal, he was on the point of sailing for America, when, on a fresh accusation, an order for his apprehension was issued, and he was deprived of the government of his colony, which was given to Colonel Fletcher, the governor of New York.\* After he had remained a considerable time in retirement, his friends of rank and influence (among whom were the Duke of Buckingham and Lords Somers and Sidney) represented his case to King William; who told them, that "William Penn was his old acquaintance as well as theirs, and that he might follow his business as freely as ever, for he had

\* The suspicion of disloyalty appears to have been the ground for this proceeding, for which Penn's display of grateful attachment to the deposed monarch might furnish some pretext. "As he has been my friend and my father's friend," said Penn, "I feel bound in justice to be a friend to him." Accordingly, for two years after James II. was expelled from the throne, the government of the province continued to be administered in his name; a circumstance which might plausibly be laid hold of by his enemies as of a treasonable complexion.



nothing to say against him." He was soon afterwards restored to his government, and reconciled to the members of his own communion, who had distrusted his principles. Having settled his affairs in England, he once more sailed for America in 1699.

On his arrival in Pennsylvania, Penn found the colonists discontented with the form of government, by which they complained that his powers and their rights were not defined with sufficient precision; and they demanded further alterations. In 1701, he prepared and presented to the delegates a third charter, which conceded to the Assembly the right of originating bills, hitherto vested in the Governor, and of amending or rejecting those which might be laid before them; a *veto* only being reserved to the Governor, together with the right of appointing his own council, and the whole executive power. The delegates from Pennsylvania assented to this instrument; but those from the "Three Lower Counties" or "Territories," (now forming the state of Delaware,) refused to adopt it, and seceded from the Assembly. From this period, the Three Counties had their distinct Assembly, though subject to the governor of Pennsylvania. The constitution adopted in the latter province, continued in force till the Revolution.

Immediately after his third charter was accepted, Penn returned to England; and the executive authority was afterwards administered by deputy governors, appointed by the Proprietor. His return was hastened by a bill which the English Government, jealous of the growing power of the proprietary governors, brought into the House of Lords, having for its object to deprive them of their authority, and to transfer it to the Crown. Penn's private fortune had



been materially injured by his advances to promote the interests of the infant colony; and a lawsuit in which he was involved, in 1707, with the executors of his steward, rendered it expedient for him to reside for some time within the rules of the Fleet. He was so reduced in his circumstances as to be under the necessity of mortgaging his province; and was on the eve of selling it, when three successive apoplectic seizures deprived him of reason and memory, in which state he continued till his death in 1718, at the advanced age of seventy-four.

From the death of Penn to the Revolution, the history of the Colony presents little more than a series of petty altercations between the deputy governors and the Assembly. The chief subject of dispute related to the exemption of the lands of the Proprietors from the rates and taxes to which other lands were liable; a claim which the Assembly stoutly resisted. These dissensions, however, did not in the least interrupt or retard the growing prosperity of the colony, and the claim itself occasioned far more disgust, than injury. For seventy years, the upright conduct of Penn with the Indians, which was imitated by his successors, secured an uninterrupted harmony between them and the Whites.\* In the early part of the revolutionary war, (during which Pennsylvania was for a considerable time the seat of hostilities,) the people, by their representatives, adopted a new constitution, by which the Proprietor was excluded from all share in the government. He was offered, and finally accepted,

\* In 1749, an important treaty was concluded with the Indians of the Six Nations at Philadelphia, in which, for goods of considerable value, they ceded to the Proprietors all the lands on the Susquehannah as far south as the boundary of Pennsylvania, and northward to the Blue Mountains; and since that time, the Indian title to the rest of the State has been extinguished.



the sum of 570,000 dollars in discharge of all quit-rents due from the land-holders in this State.\*

Maryland, the fifth and last of those states which we have arranged under the name of the Middle States, was comprised within the original boundaries of Virginia, but was not settled till a grant of the territory was made to Lord Baltimore in the year 1634. Like Pennsylvania and New England, it was colonized by refugees fleeing from persecution on account of their religion; but those who emigrated to Maryland, were neither Quakers nor Puritans. During the reign of James I., at the time that the Roman Catholics had drawn down upon themselves severe penal enactments, and the Gunpowder Plot had inflamed the popular hatred, Lord Baltimore, an Irish nobleman of that communion, had been induced to go out to Virginia, in the expectation of being there allowed to enjoy his religious opinions without disturbance or reproach. But the people among whom he came to reside, were almost as intolerant as those he had left; and he soon found it necessary to seek another asylum. Having ascertained that the territory on both sides of Chesapeake Bay was inhabited only by the Indians, he conceived the project of planting there a new colony for the benefit of all persons who might be anxious to escape from religious persecution. He returned to England, and obtained from Charles I. a grant of the territory he had explored, but died before the requisite formalities were completed. It was confirmed, however, to his eldest son and heir, Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, and the charter granted more ample privileges than had ever before been conceded to a subject. The new colony

\* Hale, pp. 131—137. Clarkson's *Life of Penn.*, *passim*. Carey and Lea, pp. 169—173,



was named Maryland, in honour of Henrietta Maria, the consort of Charles I.

In February 1634, the first settlers arrived at the mouth of the Potomac. They consisted of about 200 emigrants, mostly Roman Catholics, headed by the Honourable Leonard Calvert, the Proprietor's brother, as governor. At a conference with the Indians who dwelt on the shore, they purchased Yoamaco, a considerable village, the site of which is now occupied by St. Mary's. By this wise and just measure, the natives were satisfied, convenient habitations and some cultivated land were obtained, and the first settlers were secured against the distressing effects of a scarcity of provisions. The country was inviting ; and the favourable circumstances under which the settlement was commenced, soon attracted an influx of population. From the south, Episcopalians drove Puritans,—from the north, Puritans drove Episcopalians into its borders, where all were alike freely received and protected. To the honour of Lord Baltimore and his associates, it is stated, that, so long as the Roman Catholics retained the ascendancy in this province, the Assembly passed no law trenching upon the liberty of conscience. But, when the distractions of England found their way into the colonies, Maryland became the scene of revolt and civil war, owing chiefly to the machinations of an unprincipled adventurer named Clayborne,\* a member of the Virginia

\* Clayborne had settled himself on Kent Island, which was included in the grant made to Lord Baltimore, and refusing to submit to his authority, he appealed to the Crown. When the decision was given against him, he vindictively excited the Indians to hostilities, by persuading them that the new comers were Spaniards and enemies to the Virginians. An Indian war was the consequence in 1642, which lasted several years, and was productive of much distress. It ended in the submission of the natives. By



council, who had contrived to get himself nominated one of the parliamentary commissioners "for reducing and governing the colonies within the Bay of Chesapeake." The power of the governor was overthrown; and an assembly, convened under the influence of the insurgent party, ordained, that persons professing the Roman Catholic religion should not be considered as within the protection of the laws. Thus basely and ungratefully were the members of that communion persecuted by men whom they had taken to their bosom, and in a colony which they had founded for the express purpose of enjoying the free exercise of their religion. Laws unfavourable to the Quakers were also enacted. The affairs of the province remained in an unsettled state, until the Restoration, when Philip Calvert was appointed governor by Charles II., and the former order of things was restored. About this time, the number of White inhabitants was upwards of 12,000.

In 1676, died Cecil, Lord Baltimore, the father of the colony. For more than forty years, he had directed its affairs as Proprietor, and had displayed, in all his conduct, a benevolent heart and an enlightened understanding. In an age of bigotry, he was distinguished by his liberal opinions; and though a member of the most intolerant church, was the steady friend of religious freedom. The records of the Maryland Assembly contain frequent memorials of the respect and affection entertained for his character.

In the year 1689, the repose of the Colony was again disturbed. A rumour was artfully circulated, that the Roman Catholics had leagued with the Indians to destroy all the Protestants in the province.

the address of this same "evil genius of Maryland," the insurrection of the colonists in 1645 was stirred up.



An armed association was immediately formed for the defence of the Protestant religion, and for asserting the rights of King William and Queen Mary. The magistrates attempted to put down this association by force, but, meeting with few supporters, were compelled to abdicate the government. In 1692, Lionel Copley was appointed governor by commission from King William, and the Protestant faith according to the rites of the Church of England, was established by law. For twenty-seven years, the entire control of the province was vested in the Crown. In 1716, the Proprietor was restored to his rights, and he and his descendants continued to enjoy them till the Revolution; when the people assumed the government, adopted a new constitution, and refused to admit the claims of Lord Baltimore to either jurisdiction or property.\* Maryland is, next to New Jersey, the most populous of all the Middle States in proportion to its size; but one-fourth of the population consists of slaves, a great part of the province being of the same character as Virginia.

The States of North and South Carolina were, up to the year 1729, under the superintendence and control of the same proprietors, being included in the same charter.† The first settlers were persons

\* Hale, pp. 137—142. Carey and Lea, pp. 187—191. Lord Baltimore's property in the lands, was confiscated on the ground of his being an absentee. At the close of the war, Henry Hatford, Esq., the natural son and heir of Lord Baltimore, petitioned the legislature of Maryland for his estate, but without success. He estimated his loss of quit-rents, valued at 20 years purchase, and including arrears, at 259,488*l.*, and the value of his manors and reserved lands at 327,441*l.*

† North Carolina, we have seen, was the first seat of English colonization in North America, the disastrous position of Roanoke being within its limits. It was included in the patent granted in



fleeing from religious intolerance in Virginia, who, between the years 1640 and 1650, without license from any authority, established themselves in the fertile tract to the north of Albemarle Sound. In 1661, another settlement was made near the mouth of Clarendon River, by adventurers from Massachusetts; but they abandoned it two years afterwards, owing chiefly to disagreements with the natives. Their place was supplied, in 1665, by 800 emigrants from Barbadoes, who purchased a considerable tract of land from Sir William Berkeley on advantageous conditions, and carried on a profitable commerce with that island. While these settlements were struggling with the difficulties incident to their situation, a grant was made by King Charles (in 1663), of all the territory between the parallels of  $31^{\circ}$  and  $36^{\circ}$ , to Lord Clarendon and seven others, with ample powers of government.\* To encourage emigration, public assurances were given, that all settlers should enjoy unrestricted religious liberty, and be governed by a free assembly. The settlers on Albemarle Sound were, on certain conditions, to retain their lands. They were, however, dissatisfied with the regulations imposed, and revolted; but, their grievances being redressed, they, in 1668, submitted to the new order of things. At the request of the proprietors, a constitution for the new colony was drawn up by the celebrated John

1584 to Sir Walter Raleigh under the general name of Virginia. But no permanent settlement was made till the middle of the following century.

\* This grant was first made by Charles I., in 1630, to Sir Robert Heath, the country being designated by the name of Carolina; and, as usual, it was made to extend from the Atlantic to the South Sea. Under this grant, no settlement was made; and the patentee having neglected to comply with the conditions, it was transferred to Lord Clarendon. A second charter enlarged the boundaries as far south as latitude  $29^{\circ}$ .



Locke ; but the aristocratic features of this singular instrument were ill-adapted to the sentiments and habits of the people for whom it was prepared, and the attempt to put it in force was followed by an insurrection.\* The palatine, or president, and the members of his parliament or council, were overpowered and imprisoned ; and for two years, the authority remained in the hands of the insurgents. They at length submitted, before an armed force could be arrayed against them. For many years afterwards, a state of things prevailed in North Carolina very unfavourable to the improvement of the colony. The government was feebly and corruptly administered, and morals were greatly relaxed. The progress of the settlement was so slow, that, in 1702, the whole province is said to have contained only 6000 persons.

The first settlement within the limits of South Carolina was made by Governor Sayle, under the direction of the Lords Proprietors, with a few emigrants from England, at Port Royal, in 1670. Dissatisfied with this station, he removed his colony, next year, to the western bank of Ashley River, and there laid

\* This constitution, consisting of 120 articles, provided, that a president, to be called the Palatine, should be elected from among the proprietors, to hold the office for life ; that an hereditary nobility should be created, of landgraves and caciques, the former to possess 16,000, the latter 4000 acres ; the estates and titles to descend concurrently for ever ; that the parliament should be composed of the proprietors or their deputies, the nobility, and representatives chosen by the freeholders once in two years ; but this parliament could not originate laws ; it was only to decide upon propositions laid before it by a grand council composed of the palatine, nobility, and proprietors. In South Carolina, the qualifications of nobility appear to have been laid down on a larger scale. There were to be three orders ; barons, caciques, and landgraves ; the first to possess 12,000, the second 24,000, and the third 48,000 acres, which were to be unalienable from their families.



the foundation of Old Charleston, so named in honour of the King. The site was injudiciously chosen, and a second removal took place in 1680, to Oyster Point, at the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper, where the foundation of the present city of Charleston was laid. The new settlement soon attracted many inhabitants from that at Clarendon, and at length entirely exhausted it. Being remote from Albemarle, the Proprietors established a separate government over it; and hence arose the distinctive appellations of North and South Carolina.

Several circumstances contributed to promote the growth of this colony. The conquest of New York induced many of the Dutch to resort to it. From England, Puritans came to avoid the profaneness and licentiousness which disgraced the court of Charles II., and cavaliers to retrieve their fortunes, exhausted by the civil wars. The revocation of the Edict of Nantz contributed greatly to its prosperity, not so much by the numbers as by the respectability of the French refugees who crossed the Atlantic and settled in Carolina. Many of these exiles were rich; all were industrious; and by their exemplary demeanour, they so far gained the good-will of the Proprietors, that they directed the Governor to permit them to elect representatives. The English Episcopalians, however, unwilling that any who did not belong to their church, should be associated with themselves in the enjoyment of the rights of freemen, were exasperated, and opposed the concession with great clamour and zeal. They even went so far as to propose to enforce with respect to them the laws of England against foreigners, insisting that they could not legally possess real estates in the colony. They also maintained, that their marriages, being solemnized by French Presby-



terian ministers, were void, and that the children could not inherit the property of their fathers. The strangers were alarmed at the display of this illiberal and intolerant spirit ; but, countenanced by the Governor, they remained in the colony, and withdrew, for the time, their claim to the right of suffrage. The ferment, however, did not subside on the removal of the cause which had excited it ; and such were the general turbulence and disorder, that, in 1695, it was deemed necessary to send over one of the proprietors, John Archdale, a Quaker, as Governor of both the Carolinas, with full powers to redress all grievances. He succeeded in restoring order, but found the antipathy against the unfortunate refugees too strong to admit of any immediate legislative remedy. He therefore prudently abstained from pressing the measure ; and in a few years, as he anticipated, the French Protestants were admitted by the General Assembly to all the rights and privileges of citizens and freemen. The constitution of Locke had been abrogated by the Proprietors, at the request of the Carolinians, in 1693 ; and each colony had afterwards its separate council and representative assembly.

In the year 1700, the peace of the colony was again disturbed, by the attempt of Lord Granville, one of the Proprietors, to establish Episcopacy in the Carolinas, in direct violation of the stipulations that had been made in favour of liberty of conscience. Moore, the Governor, who was the venal tool of Lord Granville, succeeded, by means of bribery, in procuring a subservient majority in the Assembly, although a majority of the colonists were Dissenters. A law was passed, establishing the Episcopal polity, and excluding Dissenters from a seat in the Assembly. On its being laid before the Proprietors for their sanction, Arch-



dale, who had returned to England, opposed it with spirit and ability; but Lord Granville declared himself in favour of it, and it received confirmation. The Dissenters, who thus saw themselves iniquitously deprived of the privileges for which they had abandoned their native country and encountered the hardships of a wilderness, appealed to the House of Lords; and in 1705, the obnoxious act was annulled by the British Government. The contest, however, between the Proprietors and the Assembly, did not terminate here. The settlers began to think that the control of a monarch was to be preferred to the tyranny of an oligarchy; and it was not long before fresh cause of complaint exasperated them to throw off the yoke.

In 1715, after several years of profound peace, an Indian war broke out. All the tribes from Florida to Cape Fear, had for some time been engaged in a conspiracy to extirpate the Whites; and on the morning of April 15, the first blow was struck. At Pocatigo and the settlements round Port Royal, ninety persons were massacred; and the inhabitants of the latter place escaped only by embarking precipitately on board a vessel then in the harbour, and sailing to Charleston. The northern Indians at the same time attacked the settlements on their borders: many of the colonists were killed, and others fled to Charleston. Governor Craven, at the head of 1200 men, marched against the savages; and at Salteatchers, an obstinate and bloody battle was fought, in which the Whites were victorious. The Indians were driven out of the province, and fled to Florida, where they met with a friendly reception from the Spaniards, who had probably excited them to hostilities. In this short war, 400 Whites were killed; property of great value was destroyed; and a large debt was contracted. The Proprietors, though ear-



nestly solicited, refused to afford any relief, or to contribute anything to the discharge of the debt. The Assembly, therefore, determined to remunerate the colony, by disposing of the land from which the Indians had been driven. The terms were so advantageous, that 500 Irishmen immediately came over, and planted themselves on the frontiers. The Proprietors, however, refused to sanction the proceedings of the Assembly, and deprived these poor emigrants of their lands. Some, reduced to extreme poverty, perished from want; others removed to the northern colonies; and the strong barrier between the old settlements and the Indians being thus removed, the country became again exposed to their barbarous incursions. The indignation excited by this infatuated conduct on the part of the Proprietors, was still further heightened by the corrupt and oppressive conduct of Chief Justice Trott, and of Rhett, the receiver-general, who, notwithstanding the representations of the Governor and Council, were continued in their offices, and even thanked for their services. The patience of the people was at length exhausted. In 1719, at a general review of the militia at Charleston, occasioned by a threatened invasion of the colony from Florida, the officers and soldiers bound themselves by a solemn compact to support each other in resisting the tyranny of the Proprietors. The Assembly, which was then in session, presented an address to the Governor, inviting him to administer the government in the name of the King; and on his refusal, they elected a new Governor. The whole matter was ultimately brought before the King in Council; and, after a full hearing, it was decided, that both colonies should be taken under the protection of the Crown. In 1729, seven of the Proprietors gave up their claims to the Crown, on receiving an indem-



nity; Lord Carteret only never formally ceded his share. From this time, the two Carolinas had separate governors appointed by the Crown, as well as distinct assemblies; and under their control, the colonies prospered. The soil in the interior of North Carolina being found to be much more fertile than that on the coast, the settlements rapidly advanced into the wilderness. From the more northern colonies, particularly Pennsylvania, numbers were allured into this region by the mildness of the climate and the greater facility of obtaining the necessaries of life. The insurrections in England in favour of the Stuarts, in 1715 and 1745, sent a number of exiles to South Carolina; many arrived from Germany and Switzerland; and the British Government transported 1500 French colonists from Nova Scotia. In one year, 1752, the number of emigrants who arrived from Europe, chiefly foreign Protestants, exceeded 1600. Between the years 1755 and 1759, the hostile incursions of the Cherokees, and a destructive visitation of the small-pox, occasioned a great deal of suffering; but, from that period till the Revolution, the province enjoyed great prosperity, and rapidly advanced in population.\*

Of the thirteen provinces which united in the declaration of Independence in 1776, Georgia was the last settled. The country lying within its present boundaries was, previously to the year 1733, a wilder-

\* The prosperity of the Carolinas was materially promoted by an accidental circumstance. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, a vessel from Madagascar touched at one of its ports, the captain of which presented to Governor Smith a bag of seed-rice, informing him of the manner of cultivating it. The seed was divided among several planters, and was found fully to answer expectation. By this means was introduced what soon became one of the staple commodities of the province.



ness; and, though comprehended within the charter of Carolina, had been claimed by Spain. A very large portion of this State is, in fact, still occupied by the Indians; and in 1820, the total White population was under 200,000 persons.

The circumstances under which the first settlement of Georgia was undertaken, were altogether different from those of the older colonies. The depressed state of trade and industry in Great Britain, led several benevolent individuals to form themselves into an association for assisting such indigent persons as might be disposed to emigrate. The project met with the public support and the patronage from Government which its disinterested object merited; and a patent was granted by George II., dated in 1732, conveying to a corporation of twenty-one trustees, the territory which, in compliment to his Majesty, received the name of Georgia. In November of that year, 113 emigrants embarked at Gravesend, at the head of whom the Trustees had placed General Oglethorpe, a zealous and active promoter of the philanthropic scheme. On their arrival at Charleston in January 1773, the Carolinians, sensible of the advantage of having a barrier between them and the southern Indians, gave the adventurers a cordial reception, supplying them with provisions and boats to convey them to the place of their destination. Yamacraw Bluff, since called Savannah from the Indian name of the river, was selected as the most eligible place for a settlement; and a treaty being held with the Creek Indians, a large tract of land was obtained by cession. The next year, between 500 and 600 emigrants arrived, to each of whom was assigned a portion of the uncleared territory. But it was soon found, that these people, who were the refuse of cities, having



been rendered poor by idleness or irresolute by poverty, were not fitted to fell the mighty groves of Georgia. A race more hardy and enterprising was required for clearing the wilderness. The Trustees, therefore, issued fresh proposals, inviting settlers who had not, by poverty or persecution, been rendered objects of compassion, and offering to all who should repair to the colony, 50 acres of land. In consequence of this offer, more than 400 persons from Scotland, Switzerland, and Germany arrived in 1735. The Germans settled at Ebenezer; the Scotch at New Inverness, now Darien.\* In addition to a previous grant, the British Parliament now voted 25,000*l.* for the benefit of the colony. In 1740, when the Trustees rendered an account of their administration, 2498 emigrants had arrived in Georgia, of whom 1521 were indigent Englishmen or persecuted Protestants from the Continent. The benefactions and parliamentary grants in aid of the benevolent enterprise, had amounted to nearly half a million of dollars; and it was computed, that every emigrant sent out and maintained by the Trustees, had cost, on the average, more than 300 dollars.

The sanguine hopes which the Trustees had cherished, that the colony, planted at so vast an expense, would prosper, and the objects of their beneficence be rendered comfortable, were completely disappointed. The indifferent character of the greater part of the settlers, was not the only impediment to its prosperity. The restrictions imposed upon its commerce, and

\* The visit of the celebrated John Wesley to Georgia, in 1736, for the purpose of preaching to the colonists, and evangelising the Indians, and the repeated visits of Whitfield, with a view more especially to establish an Orphan-house, are deserving of most honourable record in the annals of the colony; but, in the present historical sketch, they must be passed over, having no result of any political importance.



the regulations respecting the tenure of land, had the effect of driving many of the settlers into Carolina, and of otherwise hindering the growth of the colony. Taking as their model the feudal tenures, the Trustees granted the lands in tail-male, and on the failure of male heirs, they were to revert to the donors; any part of the land that was not cleared, inclosed, and cultivated within eighteen years, was also to revert to the Trustees; and the lands were to be held on the condition of military duty, each possessor to appear in arms when called upon for the public defence. By another regulation, evidently dictated by the most humane policy, the importation of negroes and the use of rum were absolutely prohibited, which deprived the colonists of an excellent market in the West Indies for the sale of their lumber. Owing to these circumstances, the whole annual exports of Georgia did not, in 1750, exceed 10,000*l.* sterling.

The war with Spain, which broke out in 1740, tended also to retard the advancement of the colony. Governor Oglethorpe, being promoted to the rank of general in the British army, at the head of 2000 men, partly from Virginia and the Carolinas, undertook an expedition against Florida. He took two Spanish forts, and laid siege to St. Augustine; but, encountering an obstinate resistance, was compelled to return unsuccessful to Georgia. Two years afterwards, this invasion was retaliated by a large Spanish force. An expedition of thirty-two sail, with 3000 men, arrived in the river Alatomaha, and took possession of Fort St. Simon, which Oglethorpe had previously abandoned. In the mean time, the British General, having assembled 700 men, together with a body of Indians, at Frederica on the island of St. Simon, prepared for a vigorous defence, in the hope of being able to resist



the enemy till reinforcements should arrive from Carolina. While one portion of his little army were employed in strengthening the fortifications, the Highlanders and Indians, ranging night and day through the woods, harassed the enemy's outposts. A night attack upon one of the Spanish positions, led by Oglethorpe in person, was frustrated by a French soldier of his party, who deserted to the Spaniards. The General was not only chagrined at this occurrence, but had reason to apprehend instant danger from the disclosure of his weakness, which the deserter would make to the enemy. In this embarrassment, he had recourse to the happily conceived expedient of addressing a letter to the deserter, containing instructions as to the information he was to give the Spaniards, and referring to the strong reinforcements he was expecting. For a small bribe, a Spanish prisoner engaged to deliver this letter to the deserter, and, as was foreseen, he carried it directly to the Spanish general, who ordered the deserter to be put in irons as a spy. But, although his suspicions were awakened, he felt as yet uncertain whether the whole might not be a stratagem of his antagonist, till three small vessels of war appeared off the coast. Supposing that these brought the reinforcements alluded to in the letter to the deserter, he hesitated no longer, but determined to make a vigorous attack upon the English, before they could be landed. Fortunately, by mere accident, General Oglethorpe obtained information of their design, and planted a small party in ambuscade. The Spaniards, having advanced near them, halted to rest, and laid aside their arms. A sudden and well directed fire from the ambuscade, killing many, threw the enemy into confusion. After a few more discharges, the Spaniards fled to their fortifications, which they



demolished, and hastily embarking, made every effort to escape from the reinforcements that were supposed to be approaching, leaving behind several pieces of artillery, with provisions and military stores. Thus was Georgia, with trifling loss, delivered from the most imminent danger; and General Oglethorpe not only retrieved, but raised his reputation by his address and good fortune. The Spanish commander was, on his inglorious return, arrested, tried, and cashiered.

The restoration of peace, shortly afterwards, freed the colonists from any further apprehension of foreign invasion; but the plantations languished, and continued to require the aid of benevolent contributions. At length, disappointed in their hopes, and wearied out by complaints, the Trustees surrendered their charter to the Crown; and in 1754, a royal government was established over the colony, with regulations and privileges similar to those of the older settlements. In 1763, all the lands lying between the rivers Alatamaha and St. Mary's, were annexed to Georgia by royal proclamation. From this period, the colony began to make a rapid progress in prosperity and population. The rich swamps and low lands on the rivers began to be brought into cultivation, and the effects of judicious government were soon visible in the annually increasing quantity of rice and indigo exported to the mother-country. In 1763, the value of the exports was not more than 27,000*l.* sterling; but in 1773, they amounted to upwards of 121,000*l.* The state of Georgia has been considerably enlarged, since the Revolution, by cessions of territory from the Creek Indians.

We have now taken a rapid review of the original settlement and early annals of the thirteen provinces



which united in the declaration of Independence at the commencement of the Revolution. Kentucky, which was first settled by Colonel Daniel Boone, in 1773, had not then been recognized as a distinct state. Vermont, which was first colonized by emigrants from Connecticut and other parts of New England, in the year 1724, was not admitted into the Union till the year 1791 ; \* and Ohio, which was not explored and occupied before the year 1787, was first created a separate state in 1803. The following table will serve the purpose of a distinct recapitulation :—

*First permanent settlement. By whom.*

- |                     |           |  |
|---------------------|-----------|--|
| I. VIRGINIA .....   | 1609 {    | London or South Virginia Company.<br>Lord Delaware, Governor.            |
| II. NEW ENGLAND.    |           |  |
| 1. Massachusetts    | 1620-7 {  | Mr. Robinson and his congregation.<br>Capt. John Endicott and Company.   |
| 2. New Hampshire    | 1624..    | Captain Mason's Colony.  |
| 3. Connecticut .... | 1633..    | Settlers from Massachusetts.   |
| 4. Rhode Island ... | 1638..    | Roger Williams and W. Coddington.  |
| III. MARYLAND ....  | 1634..    | Lord Baltimore.  |
| IV. NEW YORK ..     | { 1614..  | By the Dutch.  |
| NEW JERSEY {        | 1664..    | Conquered by the English.  |
| V. CAROLINA ....    | 1663-70 { | Emigrants from Barbadoes, and Governor Sayle's Colony.                   |
| VI. PENNSYLVANIA }  | 1682 {    | William Penn. * (Delaware was previously settled by the Swedes in 1637.) |
| DELAWARE ..         |           |  |
| VII. GEORGIA .....  | 1732..    | General Oglethorpe.  |

When the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, put an end to those hostilities between Great Britain and France, which had disturbed the peace of America also, the number of inhabitants in the Thirteen Colonies was about eleven hundred thousand. The English settlements had not advanced far into the wilderness, but extended along the ocean from Newfoundland to Florida. Those of the French, in Canada, reached

\* This territory was long claimed both by New York and by New Hampshire: its political existence, as a separate government, dates from 1777.



from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Montreal; and they had built forts and trading-houses on Lake Ontario. In the south, they had founded New Orleans on the Mississippi (A.D. 1717); and, in virtue of having discovered that river, they laid claim to its fertile valley and the whole country watered by its tributaries. They at length determined to connect their northern and southern settlements, by a chain of posts extending along the frontiers of the English from Lake Ontario to the Ohio, and down that river and the Mississippi to New Orleans. While they were intent on this project, a company of English traders, having obtained from the King a grant of land, established trading-houses on the banks of the Ohio. The French seized some of these traders, and conveyed them prisoners to Canada; and when the Governor of Virginia, to which colony the land granted was considered as belonging, sent a letter of remonstrance to the French commander on the Ohio, requiring him to withdraw his troops, he returned for reply, that he had taken possession of the country in pursuance of directions from his General, then in Canada, to whom he would transmit the Governor's letter. This answer being far from satisfactory, preparations were made in Virginia to maintain by force the rights of the British Crown. In this service, the illustrious Washington, then a young man of only one-and-twenty, first distinguished himself. On the death of the colonel first appointed, the command of the regiment raised for this purpose was entrusted to him; and at the head of about 400 men, he advanced, early in the spring, into the disputed territory. On his route, he met with and defeated a French party, and was advancing towards Fort Du Quesne, at the junction of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, when he learned that



the commander of the fort, De Villier, at the head of 900 men, was marching out to attack him. Colonel Washington was compelled by this intelligence to halt; and he hastily erected some imperfect works, by means of which he hoped to be able to maintain his defence until the arrival of reinforcements. He was closely invested by De Villier, and, after an obstinate resistance, was offered honourable terms of capitulation, which he accepted, and returned with his regiment to Virginia.

This conduct on the part of the French convinced the British Cabinet, that their claims to the territory watered by the Ohio must either be relinquished, or be maintained by the sword. They did not hesitate which alternative to choose. Early in the spring of 1755, they despatched General Braddock to America, with a respectable force, to expel the French from the territory; and Admiral Boscawen was ordered to intercept the French fleet which was expected to arrive with a reinforcement to the army in Canada, before it should enter the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In April, General Braddock met the governors of the several provinces, to confer upon the plan of the ensuing campaign, when three expeditions were resolved upon; one against Fort Du Quesne, to be commanded by General Braddock in person; one against Forts Niagara and Frontinac, to be commanded by Governor Shirley; and one against Crown Point, to be executed by colonial troops raised in New England and New York, under General Johnson.

While preparations were making for these expeditions, another, which had been previously concerted, was carried on against the French forces in Nova Scotia. This province was first settled by the French, but had been ceded to the English by the treaty of



Utrecht. Its boundaries, however, not having been defined, the French continued to occupy a portion of the territory claimed by the British, and erected forts for their defence. To gain possession of these, was the object of the expedition. About 2000 militia, commanded by Colonel Winslow, embarked at Boston, and being joined, on their passage, by 300 regulars, arrived at the place of their destination in April. The forts were invested; the resistance made was feeble and ineffectual; and in a short time, the English had gained possession of the province, according to their own definition of its boundaries, with the trifling loss of three men killed.

“The preparations of General Braddock in Virginia had proceeded slowly. It had been found extremely difficult to procure horses, waggons, and provisions. Impatient of delay, he determined to set out with twelve hundred men, selected from the different corps, and proceeded as rapidly as possible towards Fort Du Quesne. The residue of the army and the heavy baggage were left under the command of Colonel Dunbar, who was directed to follow as soon as the preparations were completed.

“Braddock had been educated in the English army; and in the science of war, as then taught in Europe, he deserved and enjoyed the reputation of more than ordinary skill. Of this reputation he was vain, and disdained to consider that his skill was totally inapplicable to the mode of warfare practised in the forests of America. Before he left England, he was repeatedly admonished to beware of a surprise; and on his march through the wilderness, the provincial officers frequently entreated him to scour the surrounding thickets. But he held these officers and the enemy in too much contempt to listen to this salutary counsel. On



approaching Fort Du Quesne, Colonel Washington, who accompanied him as his aide-de-camp, made a last attempt to induce him to change his order of march. He explained the Indian mode of warfare, represented his dangers, and offered to take command of the provincials, and place himself in advance of the army. This offer was declined. The General proceeded, confident of the propriety of his conduct ; the provincials followed, trembling for the consequences.

“ On the 9th of July, the army crossed the Monongahela, within a few miles of Du Quesne. Their route led through a defile which they had nearly passed, when a tremendous yell and instantaneous discharge of fire-arms suddenly burst upon them from an invisible foe. The van was thrown into confusion. The General led the main body to its support. For a moment, order was restored ; and a short cessation of the enemy's fire, occasioned by the death of their commander, seemed to indicate that all danger was over. But the attack was soon renewed with increased fury. Concealed behind trees, logs, and rocks, the Indians poured upon the troops a deadly and incessant fire. Officers and men fell thickly around, and the survivors knew not where to direct their aim to revenge their slaughtered comrades. The whole body was again thrown into confusion. The General, obstinate and courageous, refused to retreat, but bent his whole efforts to restore and maintain order. He persisted in these efforts, until five horses had been shot under him, and every one of his officers on horseback, except Colonel Washington, was either killed or wounded. The General at length fell, and the rout became universal. The troops fled precipitately, until they met the division under Dunbar, then sixty miles in the rear. To this body, the same panic was communi-



cated. Turning about, they fled with the rest ; and although no enemy had been seen during the engagement, nor afterwards, yet the army continued retreating until it reached Fort Cumberland, 120 miles from the place of action. There they remained but a short time. With the remnant of the army, amounting to fifteen hundred men, Colonel Dunbar, upon whom, on the death of Braddock, the command devolved, marched to Philadelphia, leaving the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia destitute of defence. The provincial troops, whom Braddock had so much despised, displayed during the battle the utmost calmness and courage. Though placed in the rear, they alone, led on by Washington, advanced against the Indians, and covered the retreat. Had they been permitted to fight in their own way, they could easily have defeated the enemy. In this battle, sixty-four out of eighty-five officers were either killed or wounded, and at least one half of the privates.

“ The two northern expeditions, though not so disastrous, were both unsuccessful. General Shirley, who had been appointed to command that against Niagara, met with so many delays, that he did not reach Oswego till late in August. While embarking there, to proceed against Niagara, the autumnal rains began ; his troops became discouraged, his Indian allies deserted him, and he was compelled to relinquish his design.

“ The forces destined to attack Crown Point, and the requisite military stores, could not be collected at Albany until the last of August. Thence the army, under the command of General Johnson, proceeded to the south end of Lake George, on their way to the place of destination. There he learned that the armament fitted out in the ports of France, eluding the English squadron, had arrived at Quebec, and



that Baron Dieskau, commander of the French forces, was advancing with an army towards the territories of the English. He halted, erected slight breastworks, and detached Colonel Williams with a thousand men, to impede the progress of the enemy. Dieskau, who was near, was immediately informed of the approach of this detachment. Without losing a moment, he directed his troops to conceal themselves. The English advanced into the midst of their enemy, and, from every quarter, received, at the same moment, a sudden and unexpected fire. Their leader fell, and the men fled in disorder to the camp. They were followed closely by the enemy, who approached within 150 yards of the breastwork : and had they made an immediate assault, would probably, such was the panic of the English, have been successful. But here they halted to make dispositions for a regular attack. The Indians and Canadians were despatched to the flanks, and the regular troops began the attack with firing, by platoons, at the centre. Their fire was ineffectual, and the provincials gradually resumed their courage. A few discharges of the artillery drove the Canadians and Indians to the swamps. The regulars, although deserted by the auxiliaries, maintained the conflict for more than an hour, with much steadiness and resolution. Dieskau, convinced that all his efforts must be unavailing, then gave orders to retreat. This produced some confusion, which being perceived by the provincials, they simultaneously, and without orders, leaped over the intrenchments, fell upon the French soldiers, and killed, captured, or dispersed them. The Baron was wounded and made prisoner. The next day, Colonel Blanchard, who commanded at Fort Edward, despatched Captain M'Ginnis of New Hampshire, with 200 men, to the assistance of General Johnson. On his way, he dis-



covered between 300 and 400 of the enemy seated round a pond, not far from the place where Colonel Williams had been defeated. Notwithstanding his inferiority in numbers, he determined to attack them. So impetuous was the onset, that, after a sharp conflict, the enemy fled : the brave captain, however, was mortally wounded. In the several engagements, the provincials lost about 200 men : the enemy, upwards of 700.

“ General Johnson, though strongly importuned by the Government of Massachusetts, refused to proceed upon his expedition, which was abandoned, and most of his troops returned to their respective colonies. Thus ended the campaign of 1755. It opened with the brightest prospects ; immense preparations had been made ; yet, not one of the objects of the three great expeditions had been attained. During the fall and winter, the southern colonies were ravaged, and the usual barbarities perpetrated upon the frontier inhabitants by the savages, who, on the defeat of Braddock, and the retreat of his army, saw nothing to restrain their fury. In Virginia and Pennsylvania, disputes existed between the Governor and the legislatures, which prevented all attention to the means of defence. Scarcely a post was maintained, or a soldier employed in their service.” \*

The Colonies, far from being discouraged by the misfortunes of the campaign, determined to renew and increase their exertions ; and General Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, to whom the superintendence of all the military operations was confided, made his preparations with his usual activity and zeal. While thus engaged, the official information was received from England, of his being superseded in the command ; and on the 25th of June, General

\* Halc, pp. 100—174.



Abercrombie arrived and placed himself at the head of the army, which now consisted of about 1500 men, the most numerous and efficient force that had ever been assembled in America.

Singular as it may appear, while this sanguinary war was raging in the French and English colonies,\* the intercourse between the two nations in Europe, not only remained uninterrupted, but seemed more than usually amicable.† This unnatural state of things could not long continue. Great Britain declared war in May, and France in June. The French were, however, the first to commence active operations. The change of commanders and other formalities delayed the operations of the English army: and the French had laid siege to Oswego, before General Webb commenced his march for the relief of that important post. It surrendered on the 14th of August; upon which General Webb retreated to Albany. Lord Loudon, who had been appointed commander-in-chief over all the British forces in the colonies, decided that it was now too late in the season to attempt any thing further; and he devoted the remainder of the season to making preparations for an early and vigorous campaign the ensuing year. Thus ingloriously closed the second campaign, without any advantage having been gained by the British arms. This want of success was attributed by the Colonists to the removal of the provincial officers, who were well acquainted with the theatre of operations, but whom the British

\* In India, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle did not even suspend the contest carried on by the Governors of Pondicherry and Madras, under the guise of auxiliaries to the native powers.

† The French had been desirous of wearing the mask of amity for some time longer, that they might enjoy the better opportunity of strengthening their garrisons in North America. The English ministry, however, were well apprised of their secret designs, and took their measures accordingly.



Ministry, jealous of colonial talent, were unwilling to employ. Yet, the several Assemblies, notwithstanding that they saw themselves thus slighted, and their money annually squandered, made all the renewed preparations required of them.

The third campaign (1757) exhibited a repetition of the same disgraceful inactivity and scandalous mismanagement. An expedition was planned against Louisburg, and a large armament sailed for that place; but, on hearing that the garrison had received a reinforcement, the plan was tamely abandoned. The French were more active and more successful. The Marquis of Montcalm made an attempt to surprise Fort William Henry, at the southern end of Lake George, in which he was defeated by the vigilance and bravery of the garrison; but he subsequently laid siege to the Fort, at the head of a more powerful force; and after a gallant defence under Colonel Monro, the British garrison, finding all their solicitations for relief treated with utter disregard, capitulated on the promise of protection. The terms were shamefully violated. The defenceless troops were surrounded and attacked with fiend-like fury by the Indian allies of the French; and no effort was made to stop the massacre, till 1500 had been killed or hurried captives into the wilderness. One scarcely knows which deserved the most indignant execration, the perfidy and cruelty of the French General, or the unfeeling supineness or cowardice of the English commander, who abandoned the garrison to their fate.

These continual disasters excited at length in the British nation, general indignation and alarm; and the King found it necessary to dismiss an administration which had justly forfeited the confidence of the



country.\* Mr. Pitt (afterwards Lord Chatham) was now made secretary of state ; and after a temporary secession, (the effect of antipathies and predilections in high places,) he was finally established in that office, June 29, 1757. Under his energetic administration, public confidence revived, and the nation seemed inspired with new life and vigour. Three expeditions were resolved upon for the next campaign, one of 12,000 men against Louisburg ; one of 16,000 men against Ticonderoga and Crown Point ; and one of 8000 against Fort Du Quesne. Lord Loudon having been recalled, the command of the expedition against Louisburg was given to General Amherst, under whom General Wolfe served as a brigadier. The place was invested on the 12th of June, and surrendered on the 26th of July.† The expedition against Ticonderoga was commanded by General Abercrombie, who attempted to take the place by assault, but met with a severe repulse.‡ He then detached 3000 men, chiefly provincials, against Fort Frontinac on Lake Ontario, which contained a large quantity of merchandise, provisions, and military stores ; and the easy conquest of this place, afforded some compensation for the loss sustained in the unsuccessful attack upon Ticonderoga, while it materially facilitated the

\* The failure of Admiral Byng, who was employed to relieve Minorca, the capture of that island, the loss of Calcutta, and the surrender of Oswego, all took place in the same year, 1756 ; and threw a deep gloom over the public mind.

† The garrison, consisting of 5637 men, were made prisoners of war. Five ships of the line were destroyed in the harbour, and one taken. The British fleet was commanded by Admiral Boscawen.

‡ In a skirmish before the fort with a small party of the enemy, the gallant Lord Howe, whose military talents and amiable virtues made him the darling of the soldiery, was killed at the first fire. The assault cost the British above 1800 men in killed and wounded.



operations of the third expedition, under General Forbes. The French at Du Quesne, who were deficient in provisions and stores, were thereby deterred from risking the event of a siege. After dismantling the fort, they retired down the Ohio to their settlements on the Mississippi; and General Forbes, taking possession of the place, changed its name to Pittsburgh, in honour of the Secretary of State. Thus, of the three expeditions, two had completely succeeded, and the leader of the other had made an important conquest. To the confidence inspired by the commanding talents of Mr. Pitt, and to the striking display of those talents in the choice of men to execute his plans, this change of fortune must in great measure be attributed.

The plan marked out by this great minister for the ensuing campaign, was indicative of the boldness and energy of his genius. Three different armies were to be led at the same time against the three strongest posts of the French in America; Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Quebec. In the beginning of July, General Prideaux embarked on Lake Ontario with the army destined to act against Niagara, and on the 6th, landed about three miles from the fort. He immediately commenced a siege, in the progress of which he was killed by the bursting of a shell. The command devolved upon Sir William Johnson, to whom, after an engagement with an army of French and Indians, in which the latter were defeated, the fort surrendered. General Amherst, to whom was assigned the expedition against Ticonderoga, was unable to present himself before that place till late in July. It was immediately abandoned by the enemy. The British General, after repairing the works, then proceeded against Crown Point, which was also deserted on his approach, the enemy retiring to the Isle-aux-



**Noix.** To gain possession of this post, great efforts were made, and much time was consumed ; but a succession of storms on Lake Champlain prevented his accomplishing it, and the General was compelled to lead back his army to Crown Point, where he encamped for the winter.

The expedition against Quebec was the most daring as well as the most important. That place, strong by nature and fortified by art, had received the appellation of the Gibraltar of America. It had hitherto been found impregnable, and was now commanded by the Marquis of Montcalm, an officer of distinguished military reputation. An attempt to reduce it must have seemed chimerical to any one but Mr. Pitt ; and it would probably have proved so, had the bold and dangerous enterprise been entrusted by him to any other individual than General Wolfe. His intrepid and discreet conduct at Louisburg had marked him out as the fit leader of the arduous expedition ; and he had assigned to him as his assistants, Brigadier-generals Monckton, Townshend, and Murray,—all, like himself, young and ardent, and emulous of military glory. Early in the season, he sailed from Halifax with 8000 troops, and about the last of June, landed the whole army on the Island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec. From this position, a near and distinct view could be taken of the obstacles to be surmounted ; and even the bold and sanguine mind of Wolfe perceived more to fear, than to hope for, in the enterprise.\*

“ Quebec stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and consists of an upper and lower town. The

\* In a letter to Mr. Secretary Pitt, written before commencing operations, he declared that he saw but little prospect of reducing the place.



lower town lies between the river and a bold and lofty eminence, which runs parallel to it, far westward. At the top of this eminence is a plain, upon which the upper town is situated. Below, or east of the city, is the river St. Charles, the channel of which is rough, and its banks are steep and broken. A short distance further down is the river Montmorency. Between these two rivers, and reaching from one to the other, was encamped the French army, strongly entrenched, and at least equal in number to that of the English. General Wolfe took possession of Point Levi on the bank of the river opposite Quebec, and from that position cannonaded the town. Some injury was done to the houses, but his cannon were too far distant to make any impression upon the works of the enemy. He resolved to quit this post, to land below Montmorency, and, passing that river, to attack the French General in his entrenchments. He succeeded in landing his troops, and with a portion of his army crossed the Montmorency. A partial engagement took place, in which the French obtained the advantage. Relinquishing this plan, he then determined, in concert with the Admiral, to destroy the French shipping and magazines. Two attempts were unsuccessful; a third was more fortunate; yet, but little was effected. At this juncture, intelligence arrived, that Niagara was taken, that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been abandoned, but that General Amherst, instead of pressing forward to their assistance, was preparing to attack the Isle-aux-Noix.

“Wolfe rejoiced at the triumph of his brethren in arms, but could not avoid contrasting their success with his own ill-fortune. His mind, alike lofty and susceptible, was deeply impressed by the disasters at Montmorency; and the extreme chagrin of his spirits, preying upon his delicate frame, sensibly affected his



health. He was observed frequently to sigh ; and as if life was only valuable while it added to his glory, he declared to his intimate friends, that he would not survive the disgrace which he imagined would attend the failure of his enterprise. Despairing of success below the town, he next directed his efforts towards effecting a landing above it. He removed a part of his army to Point Levi, and the remainder higher up the river. He now found that on this quarter the fortifications were not strong ; and discovered that the heights behind them might possibly be gained, by ascending the precipice in a narrow path, which was defended only by a captain's guard. The difficulties attending this enterprise were numerous. The current was rapid, the shore shelving, the only landing-place so narrow that it might easily be missed in the dark, and the steep above, such as troops, even when unopposed, could not ascend without difficulty. Yet the plan, though bold and hazardous, was well adapted to the desperate situation of affairs, and was determined on. To conceal their intention, the Admiral retired several leagues up the river. During the evening, a strong detachment was put on board the boats, and moved silently down with the tide to the place of landing, where they arrived an hour before day-break. Wolfe leaped on shore, was followed by the troops, and all instantly began, with the assistance of shrubs and projecting rocks, to climb up the precipice. The guard was dispersed, and by the break of day, the whole army gained the heights of Abraham, where the different corps were formed under their respective leaders.

“Montcalm, at first, could not believe that the English had ascended the heights. When convinced of the fact, he comprehended the full advantage they had gained. He saw that a battle was inevitable, and prepared for it with promptness and courage.



Leaving his camp at Montmorency, he advanced towards the English army, which was formed in order of battle to receive him. The French advanced briskly. The English reserved their fire until the enemy were near, and then gave it with decisive effect. Early in the engagement, Wolfe was wounded in the wrist; but, preserving his composure, he continued to encourage his troops. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin. This painful wound he also concealed, placed himself at the head of the grenadiers, and was leading them to charge, when he received a third and mortal wound. Undismayed by the fall of their General, the English continued their exertions under Monckton, who, in a short time, was himself wounded, and the command devolved upon Townshend. About the same time, Montcalm received a mortal wound, and the second in command also fell. The left wing and centre of the French gave way. Part were driven into Quebec, and part over the river St. Charles.

“On receiving his mortal wound, Wolfe was conveyed into the rear, where, careless about himself, he discovered, in the agonies of death, the most anxious solicitude concerning the fate of the day. From extreme faintness, he had reclined his head on the arm of an officer, but was soon aroused by the cry of, ‘They fly, they fly!’ ‘Who fly?’ exclaimed the dying hero. ‘The French,’ answered his attendant. ‘Then,’ said he, ‘I die contented;’ and immediately expired.\*

“Five days after the battle, the city surrendered, and received an English garrison. The French concentrated their remaining forces at Montreal, and

\* ..... “They have fallen,  
Each in his field of glory; one in arms,  
And one in council; Wolfe upon the lap  
Of smiling victory that moment won,  
And Chatham heart-sick of his country’s shame.”—Cowper.



early in the spring, made attempts to regain possession of Quebec. Unsuccessful in these, they returned to Montreal, towards which the whole British force in America, under the command of General Amherst, was approaching. This force was too strong to be resisted. In September 1760, that city surrendered; and soon afterwards, all the French posts in Canada fell into the power of the English. In the other parts of the world, their arms were equally successful; and at the commencement of 1763, a peace highly advantageous to their interests was concluded at Paris.\* By the treaty, France ceded to Great Britain all her northern settlements in America, which relieved the colonies from the continual dread of savage incursions.”†

In this brilliant contest, England had made unprecedented exertions; and at its close, though she had added extensive territories to her empire, it was at the cost of a proportionate increase of the public burthens. To find the means of defraying the annual charges of the augmented debt, was the first object of the Government; and their views were naturally directed to the Colonies, as the source whence assistance might be derived. In the beginning of the year 1764,

\* After the fall of Ginjee, in April 1761, the French had not a single military post left in India; and the French East India Company was dissolved not long afterwards. In the space of seven years, Great Britain had made herself mistress of all North America; had conquered twenty-five islands; had won, by sea and land, twelve great battles; had reduced nine fortified cities or towns, and nearly forty forts; had destroyed or taken above a hundred ships of war, and acquired, as was supposed, about 12,000,000*l.* of plunder. By the treaty of peace in 1763, she received Florida in exchange for the Havanna (captured from Spain), and retained Canada, Cape Breton, Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Senegal in Africa. To these events, Cowper's well-known line refers:—

“ Once Chatham saved thee; but who saves thee next ?”

† Hale, pp. 186—190.



the first step was taken by the British Legislature towards subjecting the Colonies to a system of taxation, by passing a law imposing duties upon certain articles of merchandise, to be paid in the colonial ports. Notice was also given by Mr. Grenville, the prime minister, of his intention to bring in a bill the next session, for imposing stamp duties. The intelligence of these proceedings excited in America universal alarm; and in the respectful but decided remonstrances which were transmitted to England from several of the Colonies, (particularly Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia,) the right of the British Legislature to tax the chartered Colonies was explicitly denied.\* In March 1765, the fatal Stamp Act was brought forward by the British minister, and passed; but the attempt to enforce it was met with so general and determined a resistance, that the stamp-officers in all the Colonies were compelled to resign. Non-importation agreements were generally adopted; and, to

\* "It is my opinion," said the first William Pitt, in his speech on the repeal of the Stamp Act, "that England has no right to tax the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. When, therefore, in this house, we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But, in an American tax, what do we do? We, your Majesty's Commons of Great Britain, give and grant to your Majesty—what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to your Majesty the property of your Commons in America. It is an absurdity in terms." Burke, in his memorable speech on Conciliation with the Colonies, waived the discussion of the right of taxation—whether necessarily involved in the general principle of legislation, or a power excepted from the general trust of government; contenting himself with pleading for the equity and policy of a taxation by grant, not by imposition, and appealing to experience in proof of the futility of parliamentary taxation as a method of supply.—See Burke's Speeches, vol. i. pp. 303–315.



avoid the necessity of using stamps, proceedings in the courts of justice were suspended, and disputes were settled by arbitration. The Stamp Act was subsequently repealed, as were several other revenue laws enacted in 1767 ; but, by this vacillating policy, which alternately menaced without intimidating, and yielded without conciliating,—every concession being accompanied with a tenacious assertion of the unconstitutional right which it was found imprudent to enforce,—no other effect was produced, than to render the contest more clearly a contest of principle, and to prepare the minds of the colonists for the trying and terrible struggle that was approaching.

No event of any importance took place till the year 1774, when the British Legislature passed two acts, which had for their avowed object, to punish the New Englanders for their contumacy in refusing to permit the landing of some tea, that had been sent out loaded with a duty. One of these acts was for closing the port of Boston, and removing the custom-house to Salem : the other took the executive power out of the hands of the general court, and vested it in the Crown. These violent and vindictive measures originated with the administration of Lord North, who had succeeded to the helm of public affairs on the resignation of the Duke of Grafton. As Archbishop Laud may be said to have unwittingly laid the foundations of the New England colonies by his tyrannical measures against the Puritans, so, to Lord North, the United States may ascribe the origination of their independence. From the passing of the Boston Port Bill, the American Revolution dates its commencement. Although ostensibly directed against a single port, its injustice roused a unanimous spirit of indignation throughout the country. In Virginia and most of the other colonies, the 1st day



of June, when the law began to operate, was observed as a public and solemn fast ; and in all the churches, the Divine interposition was implored to avert the evils of civil war, and to give to the people one heart and one mind firmly to oppose every invasion of their liberty. Standing committees had been appointed in the preceding year, by the colonial legislatures, to correspond with each other ; but it was now resolved to convene a general Congress of Delegates from the several colonies. On the 5th of September, 1774, the delegates met at Philadelphia, when Peyton Randolph of Virginia was unanimously elected President. By this Congress, addresses to the people of Great Britain, to the inhabitants of Canada, and to their constituents, were prepared and published ; and a spirited petition to the King was agreed upon, soliciting a redress of grievances. In these state papers, a desire of Independence was explicitly disavowed, and they contain the strongest professions of attachment to the mother country, and of loyalty to the Crown. Even after active hostilities had commenced, the Colonies still professed allegiance to the British monarch, and protested that a redress of grievances was the sole object of their measures. " In the beginning of the contest," remarks an American historian, " these professions in most instances were sincere ; but a state of hostility produced a rapid change of sentiment. In place of attachment to monarchy and Great Britain, succeeded devotion to republican principles and wishes for independence. Essays in the newspapers and pamphlets industriously circulated, appealing to the reason and to the passions of the people, enforced the necessity and policy of a separation." \* A pamphlet

\* Halc., p. 261.



entitled "Common Sense," written by the notorious Thomas Paine, an Englishman, in which the excellences of republican institutions were set forth, and the principles of hereditary government were attacked with caustic ridicule,—was, in particular, universally read; and its effect in making converts to republicanism, is described as astonishing, and perhaps unprecedented in the annals of literature.

At length, on the 7th of June, 1776, it was resolved by Congress to declare the Independence of the United Colonies. A committee, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Sherman, and Livingston, were accordingly instructed to prepare a Declaration, which, on the 4th of July, was almost unanimously adopted. On being communicated to the army, it was received with enthusiastic plaudits; and in almost every city, it was welcomed by a great majority with public festivities. Complete unanimity, however, did not exist. Some of those persons who had more recently emigrated from England, the most of those who held offices under the Crown, and many others under the influence of timidity, deprecated the separation, and declared themselves the adherents of the mother country. These were denominated *tories*; the friends of liberty, *whigs*. On the issuing of the Declaration, many of the former joined the royal armies, and exhibited, during the war, the most cruel hostility against the *whigs*, their countrymen.

The first engagement between the royal forces and the colonists, was a skirmish near Lexington in Massachusetts, in April 1775. A more serious and bloody conflict took place on the 17th of June, at Bunker's Hill, near Boston, in which the royal troops were twice repulsed by the steady bravery of the provincials. The latter were finally compelled to yield to



superior numbers; but the victory was very dearly purchased by the loss of 1054 men in killed and wounded, on the part of the British, while the Americans lost only 453, including Major-general Warren. In the meantime, the Congress had determined to raise forces in the name of the United Colonies; and in June of this year, by a unanimous vote, the office of Commander-in-Chief was conferred upon George Washington, the delegate from Virginia. To this wise election, the United States were greatly indebted for the successful issue of the struggle which achieved their independence. The difficulties and discouragements with which this extraordinary man had to contend, were of no ordinary kind; and at one period, the cause seemed all but lost. On the 23d of August, 1776, British troops to the number of 24,000, under the command of General Sir William Howe, landed at Staten Island near New York. The American forces under Washington did not at that time exceed 14,000 effective men, chiefly raw troops and indifferently provided. A partial engagement took place near Brooklyn on the 27th, in which the loss of the Americans, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, exceeded a thousand men; and so dispirited were the militia by this defeat, that they deserted by companies. Under these circumstances, General Washington adopted a cautious system of warfare; and by skilful changes of position, he contrived to lead on the enemy to a distance from his resources, without being brought to a general engagement. Leaving one division of his army under General Lee in New York, he retired through New Jersey, and across the Delaware into Pennsylvania, so closely pursued, that the advance of the British army was frequently in sight. Small as was his force when the retreat began, it diminished daily. "On the last of



November, many of his troops were entitled to their discharge, and not one of them could be persuaded to continue another day in service. Such, he had reason to fear, would be the conduct of the remainder, whose time would expire at the end of the year. He called on the militia of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, but none obeyed his call. The population around him were hostile or desponding, and withheld all aid from an army whose career seemed near its termination. In this darkest hour in American history, General Howe issued a proclamation offering pardon to all who would declare their submission to royal authority. The contrast between a ragged, suffering, retreating army, and a full-clad, powerful, exulting foe, induced many, despairing of success, to abandon the cause they had espoused, and accept of pardon. Among them were two individuals (Mr. Gallaway and Mr. Allen) who had been members of the Congress. On the day that Washington was driven over the Delaware, the British took possession of Rhode Island. On the 13th of December, General Lee, having wandered from his army, was surprised and taken prisoner. In the experience and talents of this officer, the people reposed great confidence, and they lamented his loss like that of an army. The enemy now regarded the rebels as almost subdued. They rioted upon the plunder of the country, and enjoyed in prospect the fruits of an assured and decisive victory." \*

Such was the gloomy and apparently desperate aspect of affairs towards the close of 1776. Washington, whose elastic energy was only increased by the pressure of adverse circumstances, saw that this tide of ill fortune must be stemmed, or it would soon

\* Hale, p. 271.



overwhelm his country. He therefore resolved to act upon the offensive, but with the caution demanded by the exigency. Detachments of Hessian troops had been stationed at Trenton, Bordenton, and Princeton. Upon one or more of these points, he resolved to make an attack. Accordingly, on the night of the 25th of December, he crossed the Delaware with 2400 men, surprised the post at Trenton, and, after a short resistance, took 900 prisoners. He then immediately recrossed, having lost but nine of his men. A few days afterwards, having sent his prisoners to Philadelphia, he eluded the main body of the British army, captured or destroyed a large party at Princeton, and finally compelled the enemy to retreat to New Brunswick. These brilliant successes raised from the lowest depression the spirits of the American people; and Washington became the theme of general eulogy, under "the honourable and appropriate appellation of the American Fabius."

It was now determined by Congress, to send commissioners to the Court of France, to solicit a loan of money, a supply of munitions of war, and an acknowledgement of the Independence of the United States. Notwithstanding that Great Britain and France were now at peace, the French ministry did not scruple secretly to espouse the cause of the Colonists, and the commissioners met with the most flattering reception. Arms covertly taken from the public arsenals, were permitted to be conveyed to the United States; and the sale of the prizes taken by American privateers, was connived at, not only in the French West India Islands, but even in the ports of France.\* Little did the Government of that country think, when, actuated

\* The value of the prizes taken by the Americans in the year 1776, was computed at five millions of dollars.



by inveterate enmity against Great Britain, they treacherously and blindly lent their aid to establish a free republic in the western hemisphere, that they were preparing the way for a revolution at home, that was destined to prostrate that proud monarchy. So popular, however, was the cause of the United States at this time, that many French officers sought an opportunity of engaging in their service. Among these, the young Marquis de la Fayette was most conspicuous for his rank, and most distinguished for his ardour and enthusiasm. He arrived in America in the spring of 1777, and having solicited permission to serve without pay, was appointed major-general in the army, and became the bosom friend of Washington.

It was not till near the end of May, that either army left its winter-quarters. Washington then moved from Morris-town, and took up a strong position at Middlebrook, from which General Howe ineffectually endeavoured by various movements to draw him. The object of the British General was to march upon Philadelphia, then considered as the capital of the country; and being thus prevented from advancing by land, he changed his plan, and determined to attack the city from the South. Leaving Sir Harry Clinton in command at New York, General Howe embarked with 16,000 troops for Chesapeake Bay, where he arrived on the 20th of August. Washington, anticipating his purpose, crossed the Delaware, and pushed forward his army, now increased to almost 10,000 men, to meet the enemy. He took up a position on the eastern bank of Brandywine-creek, where, yielding to the wishes of the people, he resolved to risk an engagement for the defence of the capital. On the 11th of September, the British army appeared, and crossing the creek at several fords, attacked the American



right, which, after a short resistance, gave way, and Washington retreated to Chester with the loss of 1200 men.\* On the 26th, General Howe entered Philadelphia in triumph, Congress having previously removed to Lancaster. His army was principally stationed at German-town, about six miles from Philadelphia. Upon this post, Washington made a spirited but unsuccessful attack on the 4th of October, which cost the Americans 1200 men ; and after several movements on both sides, which had no important result, he withdrew to winter-quarters in the woods of Valley Forge. The troops passed the winter in huts, suffering extreme distress from want of clothing and provisions ; yet, they endured their privations without a murmur.

During these operations, events had occurred in the northern part of the United States, highly favourable to the cause of Independence. For the purpose of opening a communication between New York and Canada, and of cutting off the intercourse between New England and the Southern States, a British force of 10,000 men under General Burgoyne had advanced by way of Lake Champlain towards Albany, and their first operations were highly successful. Ticonderoga, garrisoned by above 3000 men, was evacuated at his approach ; and Burgoyne reached the Hudson within 36 miles of Albany. The aspect of affairs, however, soon changed. The American army under General Gates was stationed in his front, and the provincial militia, besetting the invaders on every side, impeded their progress, cut off their supplies, and fatigued them by incessant skirmishes. A party of Hessians, about 500 strong, who had been despatched by Burgoyne to seize

\* La Fayette was wounded in this engagement.



some stores of provisions at Bennington, was attacked by General Stark at the head of a party of New Hampshire militia, and the greater part, after an obstinate contest, were either slain or captured. A reinforcement sent by Burgoyne met with a similar fate. Crowds of militia now flocked to the republican camp. Burgoyne, pressed on all sides and straitened for provisions, after two actions, in which a doubtful victory entailed all the consequences of defeat, opened a negotiation with the American General, and, on the 17th of October, surrendered his whole army prisoners of war.

This brilliant success on the part of the American patriots, produced a strong effect in Europe. The French ministry no longer hesitated to acknowledge the Independence of the United States; and on the 6th of February, 1778, they concluded with the American commissioners treaties of commerce and alliance. The example of France was not long afterwards followed by Spain; and their united fleets were at this time more than a match for the navy of Great Britain. The English Cabinet, which had hitherto, with incredible obstinacy and infatuation, disregarded the hostile or treacherous proceedings of the French, while it affected a sovereign contempt for the American rebels, now found itself compelled, on the one hand, to declare war against France, and on the other, to stoop, too late, to measures of conciliation towards the Colonies. It was now determined to grant to the Americans all that they had demanded at the commencement of the contest. An act was passed, declaring that Parliament would not in future impose any tax upon the Colonies; and three commissioners (the Earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Governor Johnson) were sent over to negotiate with the constituted authorities



of America. The result might have been anticipated. On their arrival at Philadelphia in the spring of 1778, they communicated to Congress the terms they were instructed to offer, which were at once unanimously rejected ; and the negotiation was abruptly broken off, on its being discovered, that the Commissioners were attempting to carry their point by means of bribery and corruption.\* Philadelphia was shortly afterwards evacuated by the British ; and the royal troops were, according to orders transmitted by the Commissioners, concentrated at New York.

The war now languished, and during the remainder of 1778, no event of importance occurred, except an attempt on Rhode Island by the Americans under General Sullivan, which proved abortive, owing to the failure of a promised co-operation on the part of the French Admiral. The year 1779 was chiefly occupied by the British in marauding excursions. Plunder and revenge seemed to be their object ; and a degree of barbarity was displayed in several instances by the English troops and their Indian allies, which has rarely been equalled in contests between civilized nations. Havoc, misery, and desolation marked their footsteps.† These excesses awakened a fierce spirit of resentment in the American population, and increased the numbers of the republican army. The principal operations of the campaign were in the southern

\* To Joseph Reed, a general in the American army, and a member of Congress, the offer was made of 10,000*l.* sterling and any office within his Majesty's gift in the colonies, if he would endeavour to effect a re-union of the colonies with the mother country. "I am not worth purchasing," was his noble reply ; "but such as I am, the King of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it."

† The destruction of Wyoming, a happy and flourishing settlement in Pennsylvania, has been commemorated by the genius of Campbell.



States, whither the enemy were attracted by the prospect of easier victory. Savannah, the capital of Georgia, was captured by the British ; after which, Sunbury, the only other military post in the province, surrendered at discretion ; but an attempt on Charleston was gallantly and successfully repulsed. In the following year, however, the siege was renewed by the British, and the city was compelled to capitulate. The greater part of South Carolina was now overrun by the invaders, and measures of inhuman severity were had recourse to with a view to over-awe the inhabitants. General Gates, on advancing to their relief, was totally defeated at Camden by Lord Cornwallis, who had succeeded to the command of the British army. The gloom that these reverses in the south occasioned, was still further increased by intelligence that treason had appeared in the American camp. In September of this year, the American General Arnold, whom bravery in battle and fortitude in suffering, had placed high in the affections of the people, but who had recently incurred the reprimand of a court-martial for peculation, sought to avenge his wounded pride by delivering up to the British the important post of West Point. Accident led to the discovery of the plot, on which Arnold escaped to the enemy ;\* but Major André, adjutant-general to the British army, who had been employed to concert with Arnold the execution of his treason, was taken in disguise, and hung as a spy.

By the northern army, little more was attempted during the year, than to watch the motions of the

\* Arnold received as the reward of his treachery, the sum of 10,000*l.*, and the rank of brigadier-general in the British army ; but he was detested by his new associates, and his name has become proverbially infamous.



enemy in New York, and protect the inhabitants from their incursions. The troops, unpaid, ill-fed, and unemployed, discovered at various times a disposition to mutiny ; but, although emissaries from the British commander were sent among them, inviting them to repair to the city, where comfort and abundance awaited them, they remained proof against all their offers. At the close of the year, they retired to their old winter-quarters, where they were exposed to great distress, owing to the disgraceful supineness or inadequate powers of the public authorities. " The harvest had been abundant : plenty reigned in the land, but want in the camp of its defenders. Selfishness had succeeded to patriotism, lassitude to enthusiasm, in the breasts of the people ; and Congress exerted its powers with too little vigour to draw forth the resources of the country." At length, on the night of the 1st of January, 1300 soldiers of the Pennsylvanian line, on a concerted signal, paraded under arms, and declared their intention of marching to Philadelphia, to demand of Congress a redress of their grievances. The officers strove in vain to compel them to relinquish their purpose. Having elected temporary leaders, they moved off in good order to Princeton, where they were met by three emissaries from General Sir Henry Clinton, who made them liberal offers. Instead of complying with them, they seized the emissaries, and placed them in strict custody. There also they were met by a committee of Congress and a deputation from the State of Pennsylvania ; and a part of their demands being granted, they were persuaded to return to their duty. The agents of the British General were then given up and executed as spies.

This mutiny, and another in the Jersey line, which was instantly suppressed, roused the attention of the



States to the miserable condition of the troops. The amount of three months' pay was raised and forwarded to them in specie. This had the effect of reconciling them to their privations ; but the want of reinforcements and supplies compelled the northern army to consume in inactivity the early part of the following season.

In the southern provinces, a desolating warfare was in the mean time laying waste the country. The inhabitants of the Carolinas, in particular, endured calamity and distress from which humanity revolts with horror. " The country was ravaged and plundered by both armies. The people, in sentiment, were about equally divided. Village was hostile to village, and neighbour to neighbour ; and their hostility had been embittered by accusation and retort, by attack and reprisal, until pillage, burning, and murder became familiar to all. Whenever a republican or a royalist fell into the power of an adversary, he was instantly sacrificed in revenge of a friend, or to gratify political hatred. It is asserted, that, in this manner, thousands were put to death. Each party aimed at the extirpation of the other, and the whole country presented an unvaried scene of blood and slaughter." In January 1781, an American detachment under General Morgan, who had been despatched into the western section of South Carolina, to arrest the ravages of the British and the Tories in that quarter, obtained a brilliant victory over a superior force, at Cowpens, taking 500 prisoners. In March, the American General, Greene, was defeated at Guilford by Lord Cornwallis ; but the victory was dearly bought. Cornwallis shortly afterwards moved his army into Virginia ; and Greene returned to South Carolina, where, after suffering a partial check near Cam-



den, he gained a decisive victory at Entaw Springs. This sanguinary battle\* was followed by the retreat of the British towards Charleston. Cornwallis in the mean time, having received reinforcements, marched to York-town in Virginia, where he threw up entrenchments. Washington, who had been threatening New York, having learned that a French fleet with 3000 troops, had sailed for the Chesapeake, resolved to march to the south, and attack Cornwallis. At Chester, he received intelligence that the French Admiral had entered the Chesapeake, and formed the blockade; and he was shortly afterwards joined by the French troops. His whole force now consisted of 16,000 men, with a large and powerful train of battering artillery. On the night of the 6th of October, the investment of the British posts took place; and on the 17th, two of the British redoubts having been carried by assault, and nearly all their guns silenced, Cornwallis surrendered with his whole army as prisoners of war. Their number exceeded 7000, of whom nearly 3000 were not fit for duty. This event was decisive of the contest.†

The loss of a second army extinguished every rational hope on the part of the British Government, of subjugating the Colonies; and the voice of the people loudly demanded that an end should be put to a ruinous and disgraceful war. Lord North resigned the office of prime minister, and another cabinet being formed, early in the spring of 1782, pacific

\* The forces on each side amounted to about 2000 men. On the American side, the number of killed and wounded amounted to 550; on that of the British, to nearly 700.

† The news of this success produced throughout the United States the most rapturous exultation, under the effects of which some, we are told, were deprived of their reason, and one aged patriot in Philadelphia expired.—Hale, p. 330.



overtures were made to the American Government. In November, preliminary articles of peace were agreed upon at Paris by the commissioners on both sides ; and on the 3d of September, 1783, was signed a definitive treaty between the parent country and her former colonies, by which the Independence of the United States was fully ratified. In November of that year, the patriot army was disbanded, and again mingled with their fellow-citizens. In the same month, New York was evacuated by the British troops. General Washington, taking an affectionate leave of his officers, repaired to Annapolis, where Congress was sitting, and there, at a public audience, resigned his commission as commander-in-chief, and returned to his residence at Mount Vernon.\*

Independence and peace did not immediately produce all the advantages that had been anticipated by

\* In a letter (in the Editor's possession) addressed to the Rev. Dr. Gordon (author of the History of the American War), dated Mount Vernon, December 23, 1789, General Washington thus expresses his unaffected predilection for the retirement of private life. "How far I may ever be connected with its (America's) political affairs, is altogether a matter of uncertainty to me. My heartfelt wishes, and, I would fain hope, the circumstances are opposed to it. I flatter myself my countrymen are so fully persuaded of my desire to remain in private life, that I am not without hopes and expectations of being left quietly to enjoy the repose in which I am at present. Or, in all events, should it be their wish (as you suppose it will be) for me to come again on the stage of public affairs—I certainly will decline it, if the refusal can be made consistently with what I conceive to be the dictates of propriety and duty. For the Great Searcher of human hearts knows there is no wish in mine, beyond that of living and dying an honest man, on my own farm." In the same letter, the illustrious Patriot declares, that the prospect of there being a good general government established in America, afforded him more substantial satisfaction than he had ever before derived from any political event: "because there is a rational ground for believing that not only the happiness of my own countrymen, but that of mankind in general will be promoted by it."



an ardent and sanguine people. The expenses of the war had created a debt which bore heavily upon them ; an excessive issue of paper currency had taken place ; the country was drained of its specie to pay for foreign goods ; and the value of the public stock sank to two shillings in the pound. The system of confederation, which even during the war, when upheld and enforced by the enthusiasm of the national contest, and a sense of the common danger, had been found inefficient, now became a merely nominal bond of union. . The requisitions of Congress, no authority being given to enforce obedience, were generally disregarded ; commerce languished ; the general distress increased ; and every thing indicated an approaching anarchy. To remedy these evils, Congress applied to the States for a grant of the power to regulate commerce and to collect a revenue from it. New York alone refused ; but, as unanimity was requisite, the single negative of this State defeated the project. A conviction of the necessity of some change in the confederation, that should confer more efficient powers upon the General Government, at length became universal among the friends of social order ; and in September 1786, a convention of commissioners from five of the Middle States, held at Annapolis, for the purpose of devising a uniform system of commercial regulations,—came to the conclusion, that nothing short of a reform of the existing government should be attempted. Upon their report, Congress resolved to recommend a convention of delegates from all the States, for the purpose of revising the articles of confederation. With this recommendation, all the States, except Rhode Island, complied ; and in May 1787, the convention met at Philadelphia, Washington being unanimously elected president. They deliberated with



closed doors, and at the end of four months, agreed upon the constitution which was afterwards ratified by the respective States,\* and is still in force. To the highest station in the republic, thus re-organised, the electors, by a unanimous vote, raised George Washington; and by a vote nearly unanimous, the office of Vice-President was conferred upon John Adams. The inauguration of the President took place on the 30th of April, 1789. Under the new system of government, trade revived; the public confidence was restored; and a great improvement soon began to be visible in the circumstances of the people. In 1793, Washington was unanimously re-elected to the presidency, and Mr. Adams was again chosen vice-president.

During the war between Great Britain and France, that rose out of the French Revolution, the wise policy of Washington maintained the strict neutrality of the American Government. The feelings of a large portion of the community were warmly enlisted on the side of France, and would have urged the nation into hostile proceedings against Great Britain. Genet, the minister from the French Republic, was received by the people of the Southern States with the most extravagant demonstrations of satisfaction and regard, with which he was so intoxicated as to attempt, by insolent declarations, to drive the President from the ground he had taken. He even threatened to appeal from the Government to the people; a measure which other agents of the French Republic had adopted with success in Europe. But here, the people rallied round

\* The new constitution found zealous opposers among the ultra-democratic or anti-federalist party; and in some of the States, its ratification was obtained with difficulty and by a small majority. It was not adopted by the little State of Rhode Island until after the lapse of two years.



their rulers; the French emissary was abandoned by most of his partisans; and his own Government, at the request of the American President, annulled his powers. This conduct on the part of Genet, together with the atrocities committed by the French people, alienated from them the more respectable part of the American community, especially those belonging to the Federal party, who became attached to the cause of Great Britain. The Anti-federalists, on the contrary, who were most numerous in the slave-holding States, retained an unabated attachment to the French. Over these two parties, Washington watched with patriotic solicitude, striving to temper their mutual animosities; and the unbounded confidence reposed by the people in their beloved chief magistrate, enabled him by his personal influence to restrain the spirit of faction. On no occasion was this influence more strikingly displayed, than when, in 1794, in defiance of popular clamour, he gave his assent to the Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain, concluded by the American minister, Mr. Jay. In various parts of the Union, public meetings had been held, at which resolutions were passed, expressing warm disapprobation of the treaty, and an earnest wish that the President would withhold his ratification. The republicans and partisans of France exclaimed in intemperate language against most of its stipulations. But no sooner had Washington affixed to it his public sanction, than the popular sentiment began to change; and on the final question in the house of representatives, after a long and fierce debate, a majority of three voted in favour of the appropriation necessary to carry it into effect.

As the termination of the second four years for which the President had been elected, drew near, Washington announced to his fellow-citizens his de-



termination to retire from public life. In a farewell address, he warned them, with all the ardour of parental affection, against the dangers to which the liberties and internal peace of the Republic were exposed. To fill the station from which the "Father of his Country" had resolved to retire, the two great political parties brought forward their respective chiefs. The Federalists, who desired that the system of measures adopted by Washington should continue to be pursued, made the most active efforts to procure the election of John Adams. The Republicans made equal exertions to elect Thomas Jefferson.\* The result was the elevation of the former to the office of President, while Mr. Jefferson was chosen Vice-President.

— During the administration of Mr. Adams, the French Directory, disappointed of engaging the United States in a war with England, pursued a course of insult and aggression towards them, which compelled the American Government to have recourse to measures of retaliation and defence. Provision was made for raising immediately a small regular army, the command of which was conferred upon the illustrious Ex-President. With great reluctance he consented to accept the office, declaring at the same time, that he cordially approved of the measures of the Government. Hostilities between the United States and France continued, however, but a few months, and were confined to the ocean, where two severe and well fought actions took place, in both

\* Mr. Jefferson had been minister to France at the commencement of the revolution in that country; and in the early stages of its progress, he was its enthusiastic and undisguised defender. On the adoption of the new constitution, he was appointed Secretary of State, which office he resigned on the first day of the year 1794. His resignation, and that of General Knox at the close of the year, was followed by the secession of most of the leaders of the republican party from the interests of the administration.



of which the Americans were victorious. The Directory having made overtures of peace, the American President appointed commissioners to negotiate a treaty, who, on their arrival at Paris, found the executive authority in the hands of Bonaparte as First Consul. In September, 1800, a treaty was concluded, satisfactory to both countries.

While this negotiation was in progress, the whole country was overshadowed with gloom by the sudden death of the Father of his Country. On the 14th of December, 1799, after an illness of only one day, General Washington expired at the age of sixty-eight. His death was felt throughout the Union as at once a public calamity and a private loss. On receiving the intelligence, Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, immediately adjourned. On the next day, they met only to appoint a committee to devise the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of "the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." It was recommended to the people of the United States, to wear crape for thirty days, a measure which was universally adopted. A more permanent mark of the national veneration for the memory of this illustrious Patriot, was shewn by conferring the name of Washington upon the new city on the Potomac, a few miles above Mount Vernon ; which was founded, in pursuance of a law enacted in 1790, as the permanent seat of the National Government. Public buildings having been erected, the officers of Government removed to that place in 1800 ; and in November of that year, Congress, for the first time, there commenced its session.

The finely tempered and well-balanced character of the First American President, has been drawn with much discrimination, and certainly in colours not too



glowing, by an able American journalist. Speaking of the revolutionary leaders, the Writer remarks, that the influence exercised over American affairs by Mr. Jefferson and Dr. Franklin, was of a purely philosophical nature : " neither of them possessed any portion of the talent of the orator or of the soldier." Whereas " Mr. Adams united to the pure philosophy of Jefferson and Franklin, a powerful gift in eloquence, which made him a far more efficient member of a deliberative assembly, than either." " Washington's talent was peculiar. We believe he never spoke in a deliberative assembly ; and he discharged with great success the functions both of the philosophic statesman and the soldier, without possessing, in an eminent degree, the peculiar qualities of either. As a learned civilian, there were many of his contemporaries who surpassed him : as a commander, it certainly would not be hard to point out, in the revolutionary army, a few men more visibly endowed with purely military qualities. He seemed to possess just enough of either character to enable him to do the duties of both. In civil administration, the decision, circumspection, and firmness of the commander were his main strength : in the command of the army, the moderation, assiduity, and perseverance of the civil service were the great features of his Fabian policy. He does not owe his military fame to his battles ; nor his reputation as a magistrate to his political science. He is more indebted, perhaps, for his great and solitary ascendancy, to the moral qualities of his character, and to his high disinterestedness, than to his possession of the talents which render other men famous."\* A character more finely adapted for the beneficent ruler



of a free people, could hardly be imagined ; and few monarchs have won so pure and enviable a fame.

In 1801,\* a new presidential election took place, which led to a transfer of the administration of the government to the republican party. They had been gradually increasing in numbers, and were now strong enough to obtain the elevation of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency, in opposition to Mr. Adams. Being re-elected in 1804, he held the office till the autumn of 1808, when, in conformity to the example of Washington, he announced his intention to retire from public life. James Madison was then elected president, and his administration was extended by a re-election to the same period.

It was towards the close of Mr. Jefferson's presidency, that the United States became involved in serious disputes with the belligerent nations of Europe, by the Berlin and Milan decrees of the French Emperor, and the British orders in council issued in May 1806. A system of restrictions upon commerce was in consequence attempted by the American Government, which had no other effect, however, than to injure their own commerce. In March 1809, Congress repealed the embargo that had been laid upon American vessels, and substituted a law prohibiting all intercourse with either Great Britain or France. In August 1810, the French Government having announced the revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, the Non-Intercourse law was repealed with regard to France ; but, as Great Britain refused to

\* In this year, a second census was completed, from which it appeared, that the population had, in ten years, increased from nearly four millions to five millions three hundred and twenty thousand. (See page 89 of this volume.) In the same term, the exports had increased from nineteen to ninety-four millions of dollars



repeal the orders in council, or to waive the right of search and impressment, the American President recommended to Congress in November 1811, "that the Republic should be placed in an attitude to maintain by force, its wounded honour and essential interests." Preparations were accordingly made, which it was confidently hoped would have the effect of intimidating Great Britain; but, as no disposition to concession was shewn on the part of this country, on the 18th of June, war was declared by the Republic.

The second American war with this country, unlike the first, commenced on the part of the Republican Government; and the spirit which hurried the nation into the unequal contest, was not the spirit of liberty, but of fierce rivalry and haughty defiance.\* An overweening confidence in their own strength, led the Republicans to believe, that victory over the same foe would now be so much the more easily gained, as the nation was more rich and populous; and Canada was already numbered, in their imagination, with the United States. This rash miscalculation of their resources entailed its own punishment. In July 1812, General Hull, the American Governor of the Michigan

\* In justification of the war, it is alleged, that "a strong belief was entertained, founded upon credible testimony," that the Indians residing near the sources of the Mississippi, had, in 1811, been incited to hostilities by British agents; and again, that one John Henry told the President, that he had been employed by the Governor of Canada, in 1809, to sound the people of Boston on the subject of their forming a political connexion with Great Britain; which disclosure he was led to make, by the neglect of his employer to reward him for his services!—See Hale's History, pp. 387, 8. When, in a respectable History, we find such contemptible reasons gravely assigned as the motives for war, resting on mere surmise, and not clearly implicating either the British nation or its Government, there can remain no doubt as to the eagerness with which the war was rushed into.



territory, crossed the river by which it is divided from Canada, and in a pompous proclamation, tendered to the Canadians the blessings of civil and religious liberty, announcing that his force was sufficient to break down all opposition. At the very first approach of a British force, composed only of militia and Indians, he hastened back to Detroit, and shut himself up in the fort: there he was speedily invested by General Brock, to whom, on the 16th of August, he surrendered his whole army.\* On the Niagara frontier, the operations of the Americans were equally inglorious. An army of regulars and militia had been with some difficulty collected, and about 1000 troops, commanded by General Von Rensselaer, crossed the river in October, and attacked the British at Queens-town. They gained possession of the fort, expecting to be supported by the rear division of the army; but the militia, who had displayed great eagerness to be led against the British, now utterly refused to cross the national boundary, and remained the tame spectators of the issue. Those who had gained the fort, were soon compelled to yield to superior numbers; and of the thousand men who had crossed into Canada, few effected their escape. Shortly afterwards, General Von Rensselaer retired from the service. He was succeeded by General Smyth, who, in a turgid address to the "men of New York, announced that, in a few days, he should plant the American standard in Canada." The morning was fixed for crossing the river; but the afternoon came before the first division was ready to leave the American shore. The enemy then ap-

\* General Hull was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and condemned to be shot; but the President remitted the sentence in consideration of the age and services of the General.



peared in force on the opposite bank ; and a council of officers decided, that it was inexpedient at that time to make the attempt. Another day was fixed ; but, when it came, the ardour of the troops had evaporated, and the plan of invading Canada was abandoned for the season. Thus ended the campaign of 1812, to the utter disappointment and mortification of the war party, who consoled themselves by laying all the blame on the Federalists.\*

The vainglorious feeling of the nation was, however, called into full exercise by the triumphs of the American flag. On the 20th of August, the United States' frigate *Constitution*, of 44 guns, captured the British frigate *Guerrière*, of 38 guns. On the 18th of October, the *Wasp*, of 18 guns, captured the British sloop of war *Frolic*, after a sanguinary conflict of three quarters of an hour. On the 25th, the frigate *United States*, Captain Decatur, captured the British frigate *Macedonian*, after an action of an hour and a half. A fourth naval battle was fought on the 29th of December, between the *Constitution*, of 44 guns, and the British frigate *Java*, of 38 guns. The combat continued more than three hours, till the *Java*

\* The Federalists were accused of endeavouring to prevent enlistment into the army, and of maintaining the most pernicious doctrines in relation to the militia. Mr. Hale accounts for the backwardness of the people to join the army, by remarking, that "so happy was the condition of even the poorest class of American citizens, that few could be induced to enlist as soldiers. And in some of the States," he adds, "the plausible doctrine was maintained, that the officers of the General Government have no power over the militia, until called into service, and consigned to their authority, by the State executive; and that even then, they cannot be compelled to march beyond the boundary of the Republic. Several governors actually withheld their militia, when called for by the President, and thus diminished the amount of one species of force upon which the Government had relied."—Hale, pp. 392, 3.



was reduced to a wreck, and of her crew 161 were killed and wounded ; she then struck ; and, it being found impossible to bring the prize into port, she was destroyed by the captors. Many British merchantmen were likewise captured by the American navy and by the privateers that issued from almost every port : the number of prizes made during the first seven months of the war, is stated to have exceeded 500. These naval victories were particularly gratifying to the Americans ; but it must not be forgotten, that they were, in almost every instance, gained by a broadside weight of metal, against which our more lightly-armed frigates had no adequate means of resistance ; and that in the American navy at this period, there was no small proportion of British seamen.\* In the following year, the capture of the American frigate Chesapeake, by the British frigate Shannon, Captain Broke, gave a check to the national exultation. Not long after, the American brig Argus was taken by the British brig Pelican. In the next encounter, between the American brig Enterprise and the British brig Boxer, the latter was captured, but not till the commanders of each vessel had been killed in the action : they were buried by each other's side in Portland.

The military operations of the campaign of 1813, were productive of alternate success and reverses. The north-western frontier was again the theatre of disaster. An American detachment under General Winchester, was defeated at French-town, and the whole were either killed or taken prisoners. On the Ontario frontier, the American arms enjoyed a brief

\* Higher pay was the temptation that prevailed with numbers ; and they were retained by the motive which led them to fight with the more desperation, the certainty of being hung as deserters, if taken.



advantage. York, the capital of Canada, was taken possession of by a body of troops under the command of General Dearborn, the garrison, after a severe contest, having evacuated the place; but they remained there only to destroy the public stores, and then re-embarked, and returned to Sackett's Harbour.\* They next proceeded to attack Fort George, which surrendered after a sharp contest; but a detachment of 500 men were afterwards surrounded and made prisoners by the British.

Meantime, upon the sea-coast, a distressing predatory warfare was carried on by large detachments from the British navy. One squadron, stationed in Delaware Bay, captured and burned every merchant vessel which came within its reach. Another more powerful squadron arrived in Chesapeake Bay, commanded by Admiral Cockburn, by whom several towns were sacked and burned. These ruthless and vindictive proceedings reflect little honour upon the British flag. In September, Lake Erie became the scene of an obstinate naval conflict between an American squadron under Commodore Perry, and a British squadron under Commodore Barclay. At one period,

\* In Carey and Lea's History, the account of this affair is as follows: "York, the seat of government of Upper Canada, being abandoned by the enemy, was taken possession of by troops under the command of General Dearborn on the 27th of April. When the Americans were within a short distance of the British works, after they had driven before them the best of the enemy's troops by the bayonet, an explosion took place from a magazine previously prepared for the purpose, by which about one hundred were killed, among whom was General Pike, the commander of the detachment. His troops, undismayed by the fall of their leader, or the new species of enemy they had to contend with, gave loud cheers, and pushed forward to avenge his death." Such is the popular story; but as to the alleged intentional preparation of the enemy's magazine, Mr. Hale maintains an incredulous silence.



the American flag-ship had struck her colours; but the Commodore, sailing in an open boat through the midst of the fire, transferred his flag to another ship,\* and ultimately, the whole of the British squadron were compelled to surrender. This brilliant victory, which opened the way for the recovery of all that had been lost by the defeat of General Hull, raised the exultation of the nation to the highest pitch, and the "gallant Perry" was everywhere hailed as the greatest of naval heroes. A formidable expedition was subsequently fitted out for an attempt on Montreal; but the obstacles were found greater than had been anticipated, and the project was abandoned.

The abortive issue of this second campaign, notwithstanding the partial successes, occasioned loud murmurs throughout the nation. In fact, the American Government began itself to be tired of the unproductive and ruinous contest. In the early part of the year, the Emperor of Russia had offered his mediation between the United States and Great Britain, which offer was promptly accepted on the part of the former, and commissioners were nominated to negotiate a peace at St. Petersburg under the proffered intervention. During the ensuing winter, a communication was received from the British Government,

\* At first, the wind being light, the *Lawrence*, the commodore's flag-ship, was the only American vessel that could engage in close action. For two hours she contended alone with two vessels, till all but seven of her crew were either killed or wounded, and she, by the damage she had received, was rendered wholly unmanageable. The wind springing up, Captain Elliot was at length enabled to bring the *Niagara* into action. To this ship, Commodore Perry transferred his flag by the bold manœuvre above related. Again the combat raged with undiminished fury. In a short time, one of the British vessels surrendered; and soon afterwards, another; and the rest of the American squadron now joining in the action, the victory on their side was rendered decisive.—Hale, p. 411.



declining to treat under the mediation of Russia, and proposing a direct negotiation at either London or Gottenburg. The proposal was accepted, and Gottenburg was chosen by the American Government, for which place Ghent was afterwards substituted.

For three months, the armies of both nations remained in inactivity; but the war was not at an end. In the beginning of July, General Brown crossed the Niagara with about 3000 men, and took possession, without opposition, of Fort Erie. He then proceeded to attack the British position at Chippewa, and an obstinate conflict ensued, in which the Americans claimed the advantage. On the 25th, a second battle was fought near the cataract of Niagara, the roar of which was silenced by the thunder of cannon, but was distinctly heard during the pauses of the fight. In this also, according to the American accounts, the honour of keeping the field was theirs, though their loss was so severe, that they were compelled to fall back on Fort Erie. There, they were invested by General Drummond, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to carry the fort by assault. After maintaining the siege for forty-eight days, the British General withdrew his forces, and returned to Chippewa. While these indecisive operations were going forward, Sir George Prevost, the Governor-general of Canada, entered the American territory, and marched upon Plattsburgh near Lake Champlain, while a British squadron approached the harbour, with a view to destroy the flotilla that were lying there. Nothing could be more miserably mismanaged. A furious encounter took place on the lake, which lasted for two hours and a half, and ended in the surrender of the British naval force! The object of the march being thus defeated, the land forces withdrew to their in-



trenchments, and, during the night, effected their retreat, having lost more than 500 men by desertion, in addition to a heavy loss in killed and wounded. Thus closed the third campaign on the northern frontier.

In the beginning of August, a British armament arrived in the Chesapeake, consisting of twenty sail of the line, with about 4000 troops under the command of General Ross. A landing was effected, without opposition, on the banks of the Patuxent; and the troops advanced three days' march up the country, to Marlborough, without meeting an enemy.\* The immediate object of the debarkation was, to gain possession of Commodore Barney's gun-boats; but, during the night, a number of explosions announced their destruction by the Americans themselves.† It was now resolved to advance upon the capital, only a few miles distant. A decided resistance, however, now began. Riflemen harassed the van, and a strong body of troops with artillery made demonstration of serious opposition; but it was not till the following day that the Americans made their final stand, behind a branch of the Potomac, in rear of the little town of Bladensburgh. Here they had formed in three lines, doubling the number of the assailants, but consisting chiefly of militia; their front and left flank covered by the river, and their right resting on a dense wood and

\* Between Benedict and Marlborough, a march of nearly forty miles, there are ten or twelve difficult defiles, which, with a few hours' labour, might have been rendered so strong, that a small detachment with six pieces of light artillery, might have defended them against any force. But no precaution whatever had been taken by the Americans to obstruct the approach of an enemy.

† In the language of the American General Wilkinson, they were "unfortunately abandoned and blown up by order of President Madison, although in a situation highly favourable for defence."



deep ravine. They had twenty pieces of artillery, some of which swept the bridge of Bladensburgh and its main approaches, along which the British light brigade rushed through a murderous discharge to the attack. It was irresistible, and the first line of the Americans was driven back upon the second, which, in its turn, advanced upon the light brigade. In the mean time, the second brigade had crossed the bridge, and deploying on the right, turned the left flank of the Americans, and drove it upon the centre. All was now thrown into confusion: the victory was with the British, and the road to Washington lay open before them.\* On the 24th, they entered the capital, and, after destroying most of the public buildings, returned unmolested to Benedict, where they embarked on board the transports.† The squadron which had at

\* Little generalship was displayed in this attack, and less spirit in the defence. The American position was so strong, that, had they conducted themselves with coolness and resolution, it is scarcely conceivable, according to the opinion of a British officer present, how they could have lost the day. With the exception of Commodore Barney and his sailors, no troops could behave worse than they did. General Ross seems to have relied more on the effects of an immediate attack upon raw troops, than on the advantages to be gained by science and skill; and no attempt was made to discover a ford, by which the destructive passage of the bridge might have been avoided.

† The destruction of the national edifices at Washington, has reflected a very "equivocal glory" upon its perpetrators. It was a wanton and useless outrage upon the feelings of the nation. "Of all the errors committed on our part during that unhappy war," remarks an intelligent British Traveller, "this was undoubtedly one of the greatest." Setting aside the question as to its abstract defensibility, on the ground of retaliation or otherwise, it is obvious, that it was in the highest degree impolitic; because its immediate effect, as might have been anticipated, was to break down party spirit among the Americans, and to unite them as one man in support of the measures of their Government. The firebrand was no sooner applied to their Chief Magistrate's Palace and the



the same time, ascended the Potomac, met with even less resistance than that which had ascended the Patuxent. The citizens of Alexandria purchased their safety by delivering up all their shipping, merchandise, and naval and ordnance stores, with which the invaders returned to the ocean.

The success of the attack on Washington, encouraged General Ross to undertake an expedition against Baltimore. On the 12th of September, he landed 5000 men at North Point, about fourteen miles from the city. No opposition was offered to the debarkation, but effective preparations had been made for the defence of the city, and General Stricker, with 3000 men, was despatched to retard the progress of the invaders. The advanced parties met about eight miles from the city. In the skirmish which ensued, General Ross, who had incautiously ridden to the front, to ascertain whence the firing originated, was mortally wounded by a shot from a rifleman. The command devolved on Colonel Brooke, under whom the British advanced to meet the main detachment. The battle was better contested than the affair of Bla-

National Senate House, than thousands who had from the beginning maintained a systematic opposition to the contest, at once came forward and took up arms to maintain it: their national feelings were roused into powerful excitement, and they joined in one loud voice of execration at the destruction of their national edifices. Our ministers, had such been their object, could not have devised a more effectual way of strengthening Mr. Madison's hands. Had our troops recorded their triumph upon the front of the buildings, and left them uninjured, the indignant feeling of humiliation would have wreaked itself on those by whose imbecility the capture of the city had been occasioned, and who escaped so nimbly when it fell into the enemy's hands. But the burning of the buildings saved Mr. Madison. A thirst for revenge of the insult overcame every other feeling; and the war became thenceforward, what it had not been before, decidedly popular and national."—*Duncan's Travels*, vol. i. p. 256.



denburgh. The American line was not shaken by either the musketry or the artillery, and did not yield until the bayonet was laid in the rest. As soon, however, as their left gave way, the whole army fell into confusion, and a complete rout ensued. On the following day, the British came in sight of the lines of Baltimore, defended by from 15,000 to 20,000 men, and a large train of artillery. To attack these in front, would have been exposing the assailants to tremendous slaughter; it was therefore determined to carry Fort M'Henry on the extreme left of the entrenchments, and close to the bank of the river Patuxent. It was necessary, however, that the guns of the fort should be silenced by the fire of the shipping; but so many difficulties, natural and artificial, were found to be interposed, that the large ships could not get up.\* Deprived of the co-operation of the naval force, the British commander was unable to prosecute the enterprise, and the troops were withdrawn. They returned unmolested to North Point, and, the next day, re-embarked. The death of General Ross seemed to have broken up the plan of operation, and the fleet soon afterwards left Chesapeake Bay, and separated.

The military operations of the war were closed with an ill-planned and unsuccessful attack upon New Orleans. The defence of this place by the American General, Jackson, has been a fruitful theme of extravagant eulogy,† although his bold assumption of ar-

\* It is intimated by Mr. James, in his History of the War, that the Admiral called off the bomb-ships without necessity, and that an offer was made to him by several captains of frigates, to lighten their vessels, and lay them alongside the batteries, but was refused. The American accounts represent the fleet as having been repulsed, and the attempt on Baltimore as defeated!

† General Wilkinson, in a strain of absurd gasconade, ranks the affair at New Orleans with the victories of Marengo, Austerlitz,



bitrary power for this purpose, in violation of the constitution, is reluctantly admitted to have been perhaps justified by the emergency.\* His promptitude, energy, and ability were conspicuously displayed in the vigorous exertions he made to put the place into a state of defence; and he had excellent advisers at hand; but he was still more essentially indebted to the mistakes of the assailants. The point of attack was ill-chosen, owing to the very defective or erroneous information obtained respecting the local situation; and a forward movement of the first corps that landed, in expectation of a general rising in favour of the invaders, had nearly occasioned its entire destruction. A sudden and furious night attack upon their *bivouac*, threw them into complete disorder; but they soon rallied and beat back the assailants. Had the English general pushed forward more vigorously, he would have found the city defenceless; but time was allowed for the Americans to fortify a strong position four miles below New Orleans, and five days elapsed before an attack was made upon their entrenchments. The crowning error lay in the fatal gallantry which led the intrepid British commander, General Pakenham, to persist in the attack of the American lines, after the disorganization of his force, through the misconduct of Colonel Mullens. While bravely leading to the walls the regiment that bore the ladders, General Pakenham was killed; and in attempting to

Leipsic, and Waterloo! Another American writer compares it to those of Cressy and Agincourt!

\* Martial law was proclaimed, and the authority of the civil magistrate forcibly suspended. "May no emergency hereafter occur," is the comment of an American historian, "in which a military officer shall consider himself authorized to cite as a precedent this violation of the constitution!"—Hale's History, p. 434.



restore order, General Gibbs, the second in command, was mortally wounded. General Keene was also wounded severely; and the troops, without officers to direct them, halted, then fell back, and fled, leaving the plain covered with their dead and wounded. On the western side of the river, where the Americans were thrice the number of the assailants, and were protected by entrenchments, the attack was completely successful: the British party drove the Americans before them, until intelligence of the defeat of the main army, induced them to desist from the pursuit, and to return to their entrenchments. General Lambert, upon whom the command of the British army devolved, having lost all hope of success, prepared to return to his shipping. In his retreat, he was unmolested, General Jackson prudently contenting himself with having repelled the enemy, and not wishing to put his laurels in hazard. Such was the victory upon which, with little reason, the Americans plume themselves.\* The carnage on the part of the British was dreadful; and it is distressing to reflect, that it took place after the treaty of pacification had been actually signed at Ghent, and the two nations had, therefore, ceased to be at war. The final assault was made on the 8th of January, 1815: the treaty was signed upon the 24th of December preceding.

A seeming fatality had attended the whole of this disastrous and unnatural contest from its very commencement. It was begun almost without an object;

\* Throughout this affair, there was no opportunity for manœuvring on a grand scale: and excepting the night attack on the British advance, which failed, General Jackson did nothing more than command an army that defended a parapet too lofty to be carried but by escalade. His bravery is not to be questioned; but little courage or military skill was requisite for the successful defence of such entrenchments.



it was prosecuted without glory or advantage to either party ; and the peace left unadjusted all the ostensible grounds of war, for the repeal of the orders in council would have followed of course upon the restoration of peace in Europe.\* It may be hoped, however, that both nations have reaped from dear-bought experience a salutary lesson as to the inutility and unprofitableness of war ; and that the young and sturdy Republic will in future be deterred from copying the worst vice of the old monarchies, a passion for military glory, and a delight in that

“ — game which, were their subjects wise,  
Kings would not play at.”

Since the peace of 1815, the annals of the United States have exhibited a steady progress of internal improvement and territorial aggrandisement ; but no events have occurred of marked or general interest. In

\* In the above account of the transactions of the war, use has been made of the American authorities already cited, of Mr. James's Naval History, and of “ A Narrative of the Campaigns of Washington and New Orleans.” 8vo. London, 1826. The discrepancies in the respective official statements on either side, are numerous and irreconcilable ; and the popular American accounts are full of the grossest exaggeration. Mr. Hale's History is, upon the whole, fair and impartial, and has been chiefly followed. But, as a specimen of its occasional inaccuracies, it may be mentioned, that the British Government is represented as having, in the Treaty of Ghent, “ receded from all their demands.” It is singular enough, that a writer in the *Quarterly Review* should have committed the same blunder ; on which the *North American Reviewers* observe : “ The only inference which can be made from this remark, is, that the Writer knows nothing about the negotiation of the treaty of Ghent. That treaty was a compromise. Each party proposed things on which it did not insist, and receded from terms at first brought forward as essential.” —*N. Amer. Rev.* No. lxi. p. 484. The treaty of Ghent was merely one of pacification, which left the several questions respecting boundaries to be settled by commission ; and it contained no stipulations respecting the colonial trade, one of the most important points in dispute, which still remains in an unsatisfactory state.



1817, Mr. Madison was succeeded in the presidency by James Monroe, who held it, by re-election in 1821, for the same term as his predecessors in the high office. On his retirement in 1825, five candidates for the presidency presented themselves; but the contest lay chiefly between the New England party, who eventually succeeded in elevating Mr. John Quincy Adams (son of the successor of Washington) to the presidency, and the republicans of the Southern States, who supported the pretensions of General Jackson, "the hero of New Orleans." Towards the close of 1828, the contest between these parties was renewed, and issued in the election of the General.

The American Federacy is certainly the most remarkable political phenomenon, in its origin, character, and rapid development, that the world has ever witnessed. Already, the United States lay claim to a geographical area which, in point of territorial extent, is exceeded only by the empires of Russia, Great Britain, China, and Brazil. The celerity with which the population has been multiplying, is unprecedented. Little more than forty years have elapsed since the United States have taken their rank among nations as an independent power. Commencing with less than four millions of inhabitants, the population has, within that time, tripled, being now very nearly equal to the population of England, and exceeding that of either Prussia or Spain. By the end of the present century, supposing it to increase at the same rate, it will amount to about half that of the Chinese empire.\* The causes

\* Burke, in his memorable speech on Conciliation with the Colonies, in March 1775, used expressions which were no doubt regarded at the time as rhetoric: they now read like predictions. "Such is the strength with which population shoots in that part



of this rapid increase are not to be found in the physical capabilities of the country, or the mere circumstance of there being such ample room for the ever-growing numbers. In Brazil, there is a still wider extent of fertile territory, with a more genial climate; yet, at the beginning of the present century, after having been colonized nearly 300 years, it contained only twelve cities, sixty-six towns, and less than half a million of inhabitants. Since then, its population, increased by emigration from Europe, has risen to between four and five millions, one-half of whom are slaves, and the whites form only one-sixth of the total. In the United States, the case is just reversed: the slaves form one-sixth, and the whites very nearly five-sixths. Thus, while the total population is nearly three times that of Brazil, the white population is about thirteen times as numerous.

But the rapid growth of the commerce of the North American States, has been not less remarkable and prodigious, than that of the population. And the latter circumstance receives its explanation from the former. The spirit of commercial enterprise which the first settlers brought with them, (and of which it is difficult to say, whether it ought to be regarded as the parent or the offspring of republican principles,) has been the moving power of the political machinery, the fountain of national strength, and the soul of the social system. It is the spirit of commerce that

of the world, that, state the numbers as high as we will, while the dispute continues, the exaggeration ends. While we are discussing any given magnitude, they are grown to it. While we spend our time in deliberating on the mode of governing two millions, we shall find we have millions more to manage. Your children do not grow faster from infancy to manhood, than they spread from families to communities, and from villages to nations."—Speeches, vol. I. p. 79.



has pushed on the population into the wilderness, opening new channels, creating fresh markets in all directions, and calling new cities into existence, as if by enchantment, along the line of its march. The Americans are not only beginning with an area greater than that with which other empires close, but they are starting from a point in civilization, and more especially in the practical application of the useful arts, to which the older empires never attained. The facilities and security of intercourse between the remotest parts of this vast territory, the rapid diffusion of information by means of the press throughout the Union, and the constant migratory movement that is going forward in all directions, connect together the different States in a closer geographical union, than is frequently found to subsist between the adjacent provinces of a feudal empire. While the thoughts of a European cultivator range within a circle of twenty miles diameter, the ideas of the American planter or trader traverse the wide extent of the national territory between the two oceans. The mighty streams of the American continent "make geographers" of all the settlers on their banks, who depend upon this communication with the wide world for all the means of raising themselves above the condition of the wandering savages around them. In South America, on the contrary, these grand inlets to civilization have hitherto been closed by the jealous policy that has condemned vast regions of fertile country to depopulation and barbarism. So opposite to the free and beneficent spirit of commerce is the genius of the feudal system, which is based upon conquest and monopoly.

In the year 1704, the total exports from this country to North America and the West Indies, amounted to only 483,265*l*. In 1773, they had increased to



4,791,734*l.*, which was only 1,717,000*l.* short of the whole export trade of England at the former period. "What England had been growing to by a progressive course of improvement, brought in by varieties of people, by succession of civilizing conquests and civilizing settlements in a series of 1700 years," to use the emphatic language of Burke, was doubled to her by America in the course of a single life.\* Subsequently to the separation of the Colonies from the mother country, the commerce of America has continued to increase at a rate quite equal to this. For several years after the commencement of the French Revolution, the state of the political world was particularly favourable to the enterprise of the Americans, whose vessels, as neutrals, navigated the ocean in safety, and were employed to carry from port to port the commodities of the belligerents. In fifteen years, beginning with 1793, these favourable circumstances increased the amount of American tonnage from 491,000 to 1,242,000 tons. In 1821, it was 1,262,618 tons; in 1826, 1,534,000 tons, being an increase of 111,070 tons within the year. It is now very nearly 1,600,000.† The owners are chiefly residents in New England and New York: the States south of the Potomac, own only one-eighth part of the shipping. The number of persons engaged in commerce in 1820, was 72,400. The total value of the exports in the year 1790, was 20,205,165 dollars. In 1806, it had risen to 101,536,963 dollars. The export trade has since declined, owing to the restoration of peace in Europe and the increase

\* Burke's Speeches, vol. I. p. 283.

† The registered tonnage, employed in foreign trade, and the enrolled and licensed tonnage, employed in the country trade, formed, in 1825, nearly equal proportions,



of home manufactures. In 1821, the exports amounted to 64,974,382 dollars, which was below the average of the five preceding years. The exports of 1825 exceeded 92 millions of dollars ; those of 1826 were only 78 millions, while the imports were 85 millions. On the other hand, the proportion of the foreign trade carried on in native vessels, has been steadily increasing.

The present revenue of the Republic is derived principally from duties upon imports. The mean revenue of the years 1826, 7, 8, was 25,022,552 dollars, or 5,317,292*l.* sterling, of which 4,474,000*l.* was derived from the Customs ; the remainder arising from the sale of public lands, internal revenue, loans and treasury notes, direct taxes, and miscellaneous. The mean expenditure of those years was 4,982,839*l.*, of which 2,347,423*l.* was appropriated to paying the interest of the public debt, and reducing it ; the expenditure on the military department was 818,700*l.* ; on the naval department, 816,769*l.* ; and the remainder comprised the civil list, foreign intercourse, revolutionary and other pensions, and the Indian department. Exclusive of the revenue of the General Government, the Twenty-four States have each a separate revenue, amounting collectively to about 1,704,000*l.*,\* and, with the revenue of the General Government, to 7,021,000*l.* It is calculated, that every free individual in the Union contributes to the revenue, one way or other, about 14*s.* 6*d.* yearly.† Small as this sum ap-

\* The revenue of Pennsylvania is the largest, being more than a fourth of the aggregate total. In other words, the taxes levied by that State, are four times heavier than in the New England States, being at the rate of 1 dollar 98 cents for each individual. The revenue of New York, is next in amount, and approaches to another fourth of the total.

† Each person pays to the State Government, on the average,



pears, it is large in proportion to the aggregate income of the country; and as the tariff duties from which the revenue of the General Government is derived, are levied avowedly for the fostering of the native manufactures, which are confined to the Northern and Middle States,\* the agriculturists of the Southern States loudly complain of the unequal and burdensome taxation. This revenue must therefore be regarded as somewhat precarious; and should the repeal of the tariff law be effected, some more direct mode of taxation must be resorted to, to meet the demands of the public creditor.

The States in which the greatest attention is paid to manufactures, are Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. The principal manufactures are those of cotton and woollen cloths, of iron, and of leather. In 1820,

71 cents, or 3s. annually; to the General Government, 2 dollars 21 cents, or nearly 9s. 5d. But, excluding the slaves, the proportion is, to both the State and the General Government, 3 dollars 40 cents.

\* "The tariff was established, by small majorities in both houses, in 1824, and the duties imposed by it on manufactured goods, varied, according to their descriptions, from 25 to 40 per cent. on their value. These duties, enormous as their rate appears, were found insufficient to render the fabrication of most goods a profitable concern. It was proved in evidence before a committee of the Congress, in 1827 and 1828, that most of the manufacturing establishments had been losing concerns. In woollen goods, it was shewn, that the raw material was 40 per cent. higher than in Europe, while the cost of implements, and especially the price of labour, still further exceeded that of England. The Congress therefore increased the rate of duty on every species of European goods in a very high degree: in some instances, the duty imposed on coarse woollen goods was raised to 160 per cent. on their first cost..... It is natural that the Southern States should loudly complain of being thus grievously burdened with taxes, not for the general purposes of the whole of the States, but to support the unnatural and artificial trade of some of the northern people."—*Quart. Rev.* No. lxxvii. pp. 244.



the number of inhabitants engaged in manufactures, was 349,506, of whom 218,116 (or nearly two-thirds) were resident in the nine States north of Delaware Bay. It was not till the imposition of the embargo in 1807, that any considerable impulse was given to this branch of industry. It received a serious check on the cessation of the restrictions in 1815, but has been on the increase since the year 1818,—owing chiefly, however, to that system of commercial restrictions which is exciting at this moment so serious a contention between the different sections of the Federal Union as almost to endanger the Constitution.

The complicated contrivance of a Federal Republic, must still be viewed as undergoing in America the test of experiment. "To what limits such a republic might, without inconveniency, enlarge its dominions, by assuming neighbouring provinces into the confederation; or how far it is capable of uniting the liberty of a small commonwealth with the safety of a powerful empire; or whether, amongst co-ordinate powers, dissensions and jealousies would not be likely to arise, which, for want of a common superior, might proceed to extremities; are questions," remarked Dr. Paley, "upon which the records of mankind do not authorize us to decide with tolerable certainty. The experiment is about to be tried in America upon a large scale." \* As such it appeared to the illustrious "Father of his Country," when, on the happy day of his inauguration as President, he used these memorable words. "The destiny of the republican model of government is justly considered as *deeply*, perhaps as *finally* staked on the experiment intrusted to the American people."† Since then, the

\* Paley's Moral Phil. Book vi. c. 6.

† Hale, p. 343.



Thirteen States have increased to Twenty-four ; and the territories which form at present the waste lands of the Republic, are, in the hands of the General Government, a sort of geographical empire, the determinate political shape of which, time must decide.

The sinister prediction, that the American States would soon be dissevered, and form separate empires, having discordant interests, and possibly at variance with each other,—is adverted to by Dr. Dwight ; who meets it with the remark, that the mere separation of the American empire into independent districts, would not of itself prevent or destroy the prosperity and happiness of the commonwealth. “ Small states,” he observes, “ when safe from foreign invasion, have been usually happier than great ones. The limited powers of the human mind seem hitherto to have been incompetent to direct with success the internal affairs of a great empire, so as to secure to its inhabitants that degree of happiness which has been realized in states of a moderate extent. The present arrangement of the American territory was intended to promote the internal prosperity of the people by the division, and their safety by the union, of the States. How far it will answer this end, is yet to be proved. For ought which man can foresee, other divisions, and other unions, may be necessary.” \* “ In our country,” says another intelligent American writer, “ all is yet new and in progress ; nothing has received its finish ; neither its moral nor its physical

\* Dwight's Travels, vol. iv. p. 513. “ Should these hereafter take place,” adds the learned Writer, “ New England and New York will, almost of course, be united in the same political body. The inhabitants are now substantially one people ; their interests of every kind are inseparably blended ; and not a natural or rational cause of division can be found in either their physical or moral circumstances.”



development is complete; and the theorist can only pronounce, that, thus far, it has, in an admirable degree, subserved the substantial ends of human society." \*

Waiving any reflections or speculations of our own in this place, we hasten to commence our topographical survey of the country with a description of what may be regarded as its commercial metropolis, though not the federal capital, — the London, though not the Westminster, of the United States.

\* North American Review, No. llll. p. 451.

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H. Adlard, Sc.

# NEW YORK, FROM GOVERNORS ISLAND.

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## TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION.

## NEW YORK.

No commercial city can boast of a more striking or advantageous position, than that of New York. It stands upon the southern point of Manhattan Island. The Hudson or North River flows by it on the western side; a narrow part of Long Island Sound, familiarly termed the East River, washes it upon the other; while in front, a noble bay expands between the shores of Long Island and New Jersey, in which the united navies of the world might spread their canvas. Below the Bay are the Narrows, formed by heights which jut forward with a fine sweeping bend, giving a circular form to the magnificent basin, and facilitating the defence of the harbour. At various points above and below them are forts of such imposing strength, that it seems impossible that any naval armament can reach the city, unless with the co-operation of a powerful land force. Ice very rarely, now, obstructs the navigation;\* and about twenty miles from the city, the Atlantic opens to the vessels, without a rock or island to annoy them.

“Approaching the city at sunset,” says a female Traveller, “I shall not soon forget the impression which its gay appearance made upon me. Passing

\* “While Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Alexandria are choked up by ice in severe winters, (as in that of 1804,) New York scarcely suffers any inconvenience from it. This is owing partly to the saltness of the Sound and the Bay. The water at New York differs but little in saltness from the neighbouring Atlantic. The openness of the port is also to be ascribed in part to the greater ebb and flow of the tide.”—Lambert’s Travels, vol. i. p. 54.



slowly round its southern point, formed by the confluence of the Hudson with what is called the East River, we admired at our leisure the striking panorama which encircled us. Immediately in our front, was the battery, with its little fort and its public walks, diversified with trees, impending over the water, numberless well-dressed figures gliding through the foliage, or standing to admire our nearing vessel. In the back-ground, the neatly painted houses receding into distance; the spiry tops of poplars peering above the roofs, and marking the line of the streets. The city gradually enlarging from the battery as from the apex of a triangle, the eye followed, on one side, the broad channel of the Hudson and the picturesque coast of Jersey, at first sprinkled with villages and little villas, their white walls just glancing in the distance through thick beds of trees; and afterwards rising into abrupt precipices, now crowned with wood, now jutting forward in bare walls of rock. To the right, the more winding waters of the East River, bounded, on the one side, by the wooded heights of Brooklyn and the varied shores of Long Island, and on the other, by quays and warehouses, scarcely discernible through the forest of masts that were crowded as far as the eye could reach. Behind us stretched the broad expanse of the bay, whose islets, crowned with turreted forts, their colours streaming from their flag-staffs, slept on the still and glowing waters, in dark or sunny spots, as they variously caught or shunned the gaze of the sinking sun. It was a glorious scene, and we almost caught the enthusiasm of our companions, who, as they hailed their native city, pronounced it the fairest in the world." \*

\* Wright's (Frances) *Views of Society in America*, pp. 9—11.



“The harbour of New York,” says another Traveller, to whom we are indebted for the most distinct description of this city, “is one of the best in the country, and is capable of almost unlimited extension. The wharfs skirt both sides of the island, and piers project at right angles into the stream, leaving intermediate slips, which have many of the advantages of wet docks, and are free from several of their inconveniences. The tides rise and fall about six feet, but there is always water enough abreast of the piers to float the largest merchantmen. They do not, however, enjoy the advantage of dry docks, for the tide does not ebb sufficiently to empty them, and mechanical means have not yet been resorted to; but vessels which need repair, are heeled down in shallow water, first upon the one side, and then upon the other. Masts surround the city like reeds on the margin of a pool; and when one passes along the wharfs, and witnesses the never-ceasing operations of loading and discharging, warping out and hauling in, vessels of every description arriving and sailing with every breeze that blows, together with the bustling of shippers, custom-house officers, sailors, and carmen, he cannot but be impressed with the great extent of the commerce which can supply such extensive means with such unceasing employment.”\*

While nature has done so much for this city, as regards its pleasant and advantageous situation, art has as yet done little, at least in the way of ornamental architecture. Except the City Hall, there is scarcely a public building worth noticing. “The streets, in the lower and older portion of the city,” says Mr. Duncan, “are very narrow and crooked, and, what is

\* Duncan's Travels, vol. i. p. 26.



more immediately inexcusable, are kept in very bad order. Garbage and litter of almost every kind are thrown out upon the pavement, where a multitude of hogs of all ages riot in abundance.\* The foot-walks are incumbered with projecting steps and cellar doors, lamp-posts, pump-wells, and occasionally poplar-trees; and where any open space occurs, barrels, packing-boxes, and wheel-barrows are not unfrequently piled up. No town affords greater facilities for subterraneous drains, for the ground slopes on both sides from the centre to the water; and no town that I ever saw, stands so much in need of them. The more modern streets are greatly superior in every respect: they are in general wide and straight, and the foot-walks are comparatively free from projections and incumbrances. The city is throughout very indifferently lighted; and in many places, the feeble glimmerings of a solitary oil-lamp must struggle past two stately trees, which stand like sentinels to defend it."

Broadway, the principal street, (compared by Mr. Duncan to the Trongate of Glasgow, and by the Americans styled the Bond-street of New York,) runs in a straight line from the Battery, through the centre of the city, to its extremity in Bloomingdale road. It measures three miles in length, and is about 80 feet in width. It occupies in general the highest part of the

\* "We believe, that there is not a more complete set of laws in the Union, for the promotion of cleanliness, than those enacted by the corporation of this city: yet, it is remarked on all hands, that the streets of New York are the dirtiest in the United States. To us there appears one radical cause of this, and that is, the number of swine which are allowed to go constantly at large. We are aware that there is a prohibitory law in existence respecting these animals; but they roam abroad at pleasure, no one considering it their business to interfere with them."—Picture of New York, p. 35.



ground on which the city stands, and for nearly two miles is pretty compactly built, the houses chiefly of red brick ; but there is still a considerable mixture of paltry wooden ones. A few scattered poplars skirt each side ; but they are too ragged and dusty in summer to be at all beautiful, and their bareness in winter increases the dreariness of the prospect.

“ The early Dutch settlers,” continues Mr. Duncan, “ with a pertinacious but characteristic adherence to national customs, imported bricks from Holland to construct their dwellings ; and a few of these houses still remain. They are one story in height, with the gable end to the street, and a little iron weathercock perched upon the top of it. The British settlers, however, of more innovating dispositions, laid the surrounding forests under contribution for building materials ; and a considerable proportion of the older part of the city is still constructed of wood. Frequent and destructive fires were the natural consequence of this system ; and these are still, every winter, grubbing out a few of the remaining wooden tenements. The erection of wooden houses is now prohibited, and the brick ones which succeed them, are built with a neatness which is unknown in houses of a similar material at home. The bricks are made of a very fine clay, which affords a very close and smooth grain ; and the buildings are always showily painted, either of a bright red with white lines upon the seams, or of a clean looking yellow. In many of the more recent ones, the lintels and steps are of marble. Stone buildings are very rare.

“ The City Hall is a splendid edifice, almost entirely of white marble ; the architecture, however, is unfortunately very faulty, so that the very reverse of Ovid’s description, ‘ *Materialiam superabat opus,*’ is in this



case applicable.\* Internal convenience seems to have been the presiding principle in its design; and a republican propensity to saving, exhibited in constructing the basement story of red free-stone, and the dome of painted wood, has still further injured its appearance. The building is an oblong square with projecting wings, two stories in height besides the basement; with a portico of half the height between the wings, and a kind of lantern dome, supporting a figure of Justice. The portico consists of sixteen Ionic columns, springing from a handsome flight of steps, but unhappily surmounted with a balustraded balcony, in place of a pediment. In the front, there are no fewer than between sixty and seventy windows; some of them flat, and others arched, and a few with intervening Corinthian pilasters. The prevailing defect is the absence of simplicity and grandeur. The portico, in relation to the building, is exceedingly dwarfish; and the windows, with their minute ornaments, break down the whole into too much detail; the injudicious use of red stone also, in the basement story, materially diminishes the apparent height. The principal entrance is by the portico in front: within is a handsome lobby, with a marble stair of elegant proportions, leading to the second story; and from a circular railed gallery at the landing-place, ten marble columns arise, supporting the dome. The apartments of the building are appropriated to the use of the Common Coun-

\* The foundation stone of this edifice was laid on the 26th of September, 1803, and it was finished in 1812, at an expense of half a million of dollars, exclusive of the furniture. The old City Hall is described by Morse as a brick building "more strong than elegant," three stories in height, with wings. In the assembly-chamber were portraits of Columbus, of the King and Queen of France, "as large as the life," (presented to Congress by his Most Christian Majesty,) and of General Washington.



cil of the City, and the different Courts of Law. The chair occupied by the Mayor in the Council-room, is the same in which Washington sat, when presiding at the first Congress of the United States ; and a full-length portrait of this great man, with those of some others of the Revolutionary chiefs, adorns the walls. In the other rooms, there is a profusion of portraits of officers who distinguished themselves during the recent conflict. It is remarkable, that in this building there is no room at all adapted for the purpose of a popular meeting. We may well wonder at this omission in the principal city of a republican State, where every Act of the Legislature is introduced by the proud preamble,—‘ *We the people of the State of New York, by the grace of God, free and independent.*’

“ A very few of the churches are of stone, but their architecture in general presents glaring specimens of bad taste. The steeples are, in some cases, lofty, but are always of wood, and though as gay as white paint and a gilt weathercock can make them, have, to one from the *old country*, an air of paltriness and insecurity : one of them is so exceedingly slender, that it might not inaptly be likened to an enormous darning-needle. In one of the principal churches, the architect, wishing to avoid the incongruity of a steeple rising above a Grecian portico, has placed it at the other end of the building : in this, there is, of course, only a choice of difficulties, but the result is, in the present case, not happy, for the awkward position suggests to the spectator the idea of a tail.

“ In front of the City Hall is a triangular grass-plot, of half an acre or so, intersected with gravel-walks, and skirted on two sides with a few poplars, which is dignified with the rather inappropriate name



of the Park. Green turf, however, is scarce within the precincts of the City, and the natives may be excused although they overrate a little what they possess. The only other portions are, the Bowling Green and the Battery. The Bowling Green is a small oval inclosure, at the lower end of Broadway, in the centre of which once stood a leaden statue of our good old King ; but when the natives threw off their allegiance to George the Third, they turned his representative into bullets, and fired them at his troops. The Battery is a strip of ground at the southern extremity of the island, about a quarter of a mile in length, which, in the days of the Dutch governors, was the site of an earthen breast-work, over which a few pieces of cannon presented themselves to the vessels coming up the bay ; but the embankment has long been levelled, and the guns thrown aside. It is now covered with a verdant turf, and shaded by the branching foliage of numerous trees, with a modern stone fort of great strength, projecting from one corner of it into the water. In a summer evening, the Battery is a deservedly favourite promenade, and the prospect which it affords, is very rarely to be equalled. The noble bay expands before it ; bounded, on the left, by the sloping hills and valleys of Long Island ; in front, by the Narrows, about ten miles off ; and on the right, by the shores of New Jersey. Two or three forts appear upon as many islands, and vessels of every size, from the seventy-four gun-ship to the sloop at anchor or under sail. The cliffs of some stately mountain are almost all that could be desired to complete the landscape. A native of New York listens with impatience to the praises of the Bay of Naples ; and it is said, that some who have seen both, have expressed some hesitation as to which



deserves the palm. I suspect that Vesuvius is more than sufficient to turn the balance." \*

When the Dutch first established themselves on the Island, its surface presented a very irregular appearance. In some places, the ground rose into craggy hills; in other parts were low hollows and marshy swamps. By great labour and expense, that part on which the City is built, has been nearly levelled, and the marshes filled up. Only a few years ago, there was still a lake of fresh water, called "the Collect," near the middle of the City, of which scarcely a vestige remains; and towards the East River, there was a considerable elevation called Bayard's Mount, which has been nearly all cleared away to make room for level streets. In 1640, New York was a mere village, and the only dwelling-houses were few, low, and straggling. The most prominent buildings were then, according to its erudite and right pleasant historian, Diedrich Knickerbocker, "the Fort, the Church of St. Nicholas, the Jail, the Governor's house, the Gallows, the Pillory, the West India Stores, and the City Tavern," of which there are now no remains. In 1697, thirty-four years after the Dutch had been expelled by the English, the population of New York amounted to only 4302 persons. In 1790, it had increased to upwards of 33,000 (including 2369 slaves). In 1810, it had risen to 96,000; in 1816, to 100,619; in 1819, to 119,657; in 1826, to 166,086; and it must now exceed 170,000, including the population of Brooklyn on the opposite shore of Long Island, which may be considered as a suburb.†

For a long time after the Independence of the

\* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 27—34.

† La Fayette, vol. i. p. 20. Mr. Cooper states it at about 200,000.



United States had been established, New York had to contend for supremacy against a powerful rivalry. "Philadelphia, distant less than a hundred miles, was not only more wealthy and more populous, but, for many years, it enjoyed the *éclat* and advantage of being the capital of the Union. Boston and Baltimore are both sea-ports of extensive connections and of great and enlightened enterprise. Against this serious competition, however, New York struggled with success, gradually obtaining the superiority in tonnage and in population; until, within a few years, opposition has silently yielded to the force of circumstances, and those towns, which had so long been rivals, have become auxiliaries to her aggrandisement." \* In 1793, the number of vessels that entered this port from foreign countries was 683, and coastwise, 1381. The exports had amounted, the preceding year, to 2,535,790 dollars, and the customs to 1,256,738 dollars. In 1795, the customs were double that amount, and the exports had quadrupled. In 1816, the latter amounted in value to 19,690,031 dollars. In the following years, they declined, amounting, in 1820, to only 13,163,244 dollars, of which about one-third was foreign produce. But in 1825, they had risen to 35,259,261 dollars, of which foreign produce constituted two-fifths. The revenue collected at this port, has amounted of late to one-fourth of the total sum collected by Government throughout the United States.†

The natural advantages of its position must always render this port an important emporium. It is the

\* Cooper's Notions, vol. i. p. 163.

† Dwight, vol. iii. p. 450. Picture of New York, p. 143. Carey and Lea, p. 148. The chief exports from this State consist of wheat, maize, rye, beef, pork, lumber, pearl-ash, and manufactured goods.



first practicable port at all seasons of the year, after quitting the mouth of the Chesapeake for the northward. It lies in the angle formed by the coast, and whence the courses to Europe, to the West Indies, or to the Southern Atlantic, can be made direct. Ships from Virginia or Louisiana commonly pass within a day's sail of New York on their way to Europe; and coasters from Boston frequently stop at the wharfs of this City, to deposit part of their freight, before proceeding further southward. Its capacious and excellent roadstead, its secure port and magnificent bay, are not its only advantages. It commands an internal navigation of almost unequal extent. Eastward, the Sound opens to it 200 miles of the New England shore, and 140 of that of Long Island. Through the adjacent bays, small vessels penetrate in almost every direction into New Jersey. Northward, the Hudson, "the finest natural canal in the world," affords a navigation of 170 miles; and by means of the great canals communicating with Lake Erie on the one side\* and Lake Champlain on the other,† this City has

\* The Erie Canal, extending from that Lake to the Hudson, a distance of 360 miles, was begun in 1817, and completed in 1825, at an expense of 5,000,000 dollars. It is deservedly characterized as one of the greatest works of the kind ever undertaken. It is 40 feet wide on the surface, 28 at the bottom, and 4 feet deep. From Buffalo on Lake Erie to Montezuma on Seneca river (155 miles), the level uniformly descends; the total descent is 194 feet by 21 locks. From Montezuma to Utica (96 miles), it uniformly ascends, the ascent being 49 feet by 9 locks; but for 67 miles there is not a lock. From Utica to Albany (109 miles), it again descends 419 feet by 51 locks.—Carey and Lea.

† The Champlain Canal, 22 miles in length, connecting that Lake with the Hudson, was completed in 1820. But since then, this canal appears to have been extended, so as to fall into the great western canal, its total extent being now estimated at 64 miles. The cost of both canals was 9,123,000 dollars. The tolls amounted in 1825, to 500,000 dollars; in 1827, to 850,000.



become the concentrating point of the commerce of the Great Lakes on the left, and the State of Vermont on the right. Another canal, commenced in 1825, is to unite the Hudson with the head waters of the Delaware; and one is in progress, which, by connecting those of the Ohio with Lake Erie, will open an inland communication between New York and New Orleans, a distance of more than 2000 miles. Three or four hundred vessels, averaging forty tons, are employed continually on the Hudson during the mild season; and the advantages arising from the application of steam to navigation, of which New York first set the example, are here exhibited in their fullest extent.

Owing to the recent and rapid increase of its business and population, New York wears the appearance almost of a new city; and a description of a few years' standing, becomes obsolete. Lambert, who travelled in 1806—8, describes it as the finest and most agreeable city, as regards its situation and buildings, in the United States; having "neither the narrow and confined irregularity of Boston, nor the monotonous regularity of Philadelphia, but a happy medium between both." Land in this city, which, twenty years before, had sold for 50 dollars, was then worth 1500; so rapidly had it risen in value. It contained at that time thirty-three places of worship; which, if correct, was only thirteen more than in 1789. Dr. Dwight, however, describing the city in 1811, enumerates fifty-five. In 1821, the whole number of churches and chapels in the city and county of New York, was 71; and they are now stated to amount to 99; *viz.* Presbyterian (Trinitarian), 22; Episcopal, 18; Baptist, 14; Reformed Dutch, 13; Methodist Society, 3; Methodist Episcopal, 7; Methodist African, 3; Independents, 4; Friends, 3; Roman Catholics, 3; Lu-



therans, 2; Unitarians, 2; Universalists, 2; Moravians, 1; Hebrew Synagogue, 1; New Jerusalem, 1. Besides which, the State Prison, the Penitentiary, the Alms-house, the Bridewell, and the Debtors' Prison, are all furnished with chapels, in which the doctrines of the Reformation are faithfully preached.\*

Among the churches, Dr. Dwight particularizes St. John's, in Hudson's Square, as one of the richest, and, in the interior, one of the most beautiful. The steeple of St. Paul's is praised, but the church is massive and heavy.† The other public buildings, besides the prisons above referred to, are a General Hospital and Lunatic Asylum, Columbia College, a Free School, an Orphan Asylum, a Public Library, the Custom House, the United States' Arsenal, the State Arsenal, two Theatres, the Banks, the City Hotel, the Tontino Coffee House, and the Halls occupied by the Washington, Mechanics, and Tammany Societies.‡ None of

\* In Morse's *American Geography*, published in 1789, the places of worship in New York are enumerated as follows:—Reformed Dutch, 3; Presbyterians, 4; Episcopal, 3; German, Lutheran and Calvinists, 2; Roman Catholic, 1; Friends, 1; Baptist, 2; Moravians, 1; Methodists, 1; Jews' Synagogue, 1; French Protestant church (out of repair), 1: total, 20.

† St. Paul's Chapel in Broadway, completed in 1766, contains, Morse says, "a superb monument, erected by order of Congress, to the memory of the brave General Montgomery, who fell in the attack of Quebec, in December 1775."

‡ The Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, was professedly established to afford relief to persons in distress. Its principal business, however, Dr. Dwight says, is believed to be that of influencing elections. The Washington Benevolent Society also, though really employed in many benevolent purposes, is substantially a political association. The same may be said of some others.—Dwight, vol. iii. p. 440. The number of ostensibly benevolent societies in New York, is stated by Lambert to be 31. They have since then increased. Some of them are of an undeniably disinterested and philanthropic character. Captain Basil Hall speaks



these are distinguished, however, by any particular architectural beauty. Lieutenant Hall spent an evening in one of the theatres,—“a shabby building without, poorly lighted and decorated within; the play was wretched, and miserably acted; and the audience consisted almost entirely of men.” Mr. Lambert, on the other hand, speaks of the principal theatre as large, handsome, and well fitted up; and Mr. Cooper’s performances obtained for him the honour of being regarded as the American Kemble. But the Americans generally have little taste for the drama. Dancing is the favourite amusement. New York has its Vauxhall and its Ranelagh, but they are “poor imitations of those near London.”\* There is a small Museum at New York, the best part of which is a collection of birds, well preserved, and the worst, a set of wax-work figures. A Botanic Garden, founded by Professor Hosack, in 1801, is now under the charge of Columbia College. This institution, which originally bore the name of King’s College, was established by lottery, and incorporated by charter in 1754. It was designed for the purpose of educating youth in the learned languages and in the arts and sciences. In 1769, a faculty of medicine was annexed to it; but in 1807, a distinct college of physicians was established. There are four professorships; of moral philosophy, classical literature, the physical sciences, and belles lettres. New York has also its Literary and Philosophical Society (chartered in 1814); its Historical Society; its Academy of Fine Arts; and a Lyceum

with warm praise of the House of Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents. —See B. Hall’s *Travels*, vol. i. p. 24.

\* Lambert, vol. i. p. 61. In the centre of the Vauxhall garden is “a large equestrian statue of Washington.”



of Natural History.\* These four societies have their respective apartments in the New York Institution, the western division of which is occupied by the Museum.

In the number of its Religious Institutions, New York presents an honourable feature of the state of society. In the Picture of New York for 1818, we find enumerated no fewer than twelve Missionary Societies, the oldest of which, the New York Missionary Society, (supported principally by the Presbyterian denomination,) was instituted in 1796. In 1816, the American Bible Society was instituted by a convention of delegates from Bible Societies in different parts of the United States.† Besides this central Institution, New York has several separate Auxilliary Bible Societies; also, a Tract Society, a Sunday School Union, and various Education Societies.

Morse describes New York, forty years ago, as "the gayest place in America." "The ladies," he says, "in the richness and brilliancy of their dress, are not equalled in any city in the United States, not even in Charleston, which has heretofore been called the centre of the *beau monde*. In point of sociability and hospitality," he adds, "New York is hardly exceeded by any town" in the Union. With regard to their love of literature, and their patronage of the arts and sciences, inquiries could not then be answered quite satisfactorily. Dr. Dwight bears a similar testimony to the hospitality by which its inhabitants are distinguished. "Tables are spread here," he says, "with a luxury that must, I think, satisfy the demands

\* Of this philosophical Society, Captain Basil Hall, who attended some of the meetings, speaks in terms of unusual panegyric.

† In 1828, the American Bible Society had issued 511,168 copies of the Bible or New Testament; and its Auxilliary Societies amounted to 547.



of any epicure. The economy of the inhabitants is, I think, less remarkable and less universal, than their industry. The furniture and carriages of many of the inhabitants are rich and beautiful. Until lately, almost all the coaches were private property. Hackney coaches are now employed in considerable numbers.\*... The general attachment to learning is less vigorous in this city, than in Boston, commerce having originally taken a more entire possession of the minds of its inhabitants. The character of New York, however, has for some time been materially changing in this respect. Wealth also, in a much higher degree than good sense can justify, is considered as conferring importance and distinction on the owner."† This last circumstance, indeed, is by no means peculiar to the city of New York. Mr. Cooper tells us, that "here, as elsewhere, the *parvenus* are commonly the most lavish in their expenditure, either because money is a novelty, or because they find it necessary to purchase consideration by its liberal use." With regard to the general character of the society, it comprises, we are told, "such a *mélange* of customs, nations, and manners, all tempered, without being destroyed, by the institutions and opinions of the country," that it scarcely admits of definite description. "Society in New York, in consequence of its extraordinary increase, is rather in a state of effervescence, than settled; and where that is the case, the lees sometimes get nearer to the surface than is desirable." "With the exception of New Orleans, it is the only city in

\* Mr. Cooper says: "I should think about the same proportion of the inhabitants keep carriages here as in France. The equipages, with the exception of liveries and heraldic blazonries, are very much like those of London."—*Notions, &c.* vol. I. p. 203.

† Dwight, vol. iii. pp. 451—453.



the Union that has not the character of a provincial town." \*

The languages spoken in this city are very various. "When passing through the streets, you will hear English, French, Dutch, and German, and all the various brogues spoken by the numerous nations, when imperfectly acquainted with the English tongue." It is computed, that one third of the inhabitants are either natives of New England or descendants of those who have emigrated from the northern States. Not more than a third of the population is, strictly speaking, native to this State; and the proportion of Europeans of various nations, is probably larger than in any other city in the Union.† Captain Basil Hall describes the first impression made upon an Englishman, on his arrival, as very singular. While so many things recall the sea-ports of England, abundant indications of its being another country force themselves on the attention. "The signs over the shop-doors were written in English; but the language we heard spoken, was different in tone from what we had been accustomed to. Still, it was English. Yet, there was more or less of a foreign air in all we saw, especially about the dress and gait of the men. Negroes and negresses also were seen in abundance on the wharfs. The form of most of the wheeled carriages was novel."

\* Notions of the Americans, vol. i. pp. 165—221.

† According to a statement in a New York newspaper, the number of passengers who arrived at the port of New York between March 1, 1818, and December 11, 1819, was 35,500, consisting of the following classes, as entered at the Mayor's office; *viz.*, Americans, 16,628; English, 7629; Welsh, 590; Scotch, 1492; Irish, 6067; French, 930; Germans, 499; Spanish, 217; Portuguese, 54; Hollanders, 155; Italians, 103; Swiss, 372; Norwegians, 3; Swedes, 28; Danes, 97; Prussians, 48; Sardinians, 3.—Hodgson's Letters, vol. ii. p. 123.



The names of places, and the inscriptions over the doors,—some of them singularly uncouth and strange, concur to remind the stranger that he is in a new country. This impression, however, soon wears off. On returning to New York from the interior, “all that visionary, dreamy kind of effect which the strange mixture of new and old objects had excited on first landing from England, had so completely fled,” that our Traveller could with difficulty recall even a trace of it to his recollection.\*

The police of New York, Dr. Dwight says, has become superior to that of any other city in the Union; notwithstanding that its efficiency does not extend to the cleanliness of the streets. There is another point also, on which the wisdom and enterprise of the citizens are not displayed to advantage. The water is generally very bad; and an attempt made to supply the city with pure and wholesome water, was perverted into a miserable job, and failed. A still more serious drawback on the “otherwise unrivalled position” of New York, is the occasional visitation of the yellow fever. Mr. Cooper tells us, that the most exaggerated notions prevail in Europe concerning the danger of the disease in this latitude. “The malady,” he says, “rarely appears before the last of August, and has invariably disappeared with the first frosts, which are commonly felt here in October. The fever of 1821,

\* Hall, vol. i. p. 6. vol. ii. p. 206. “Flour and Feed Store”—“Cheap Store”—“Clothing Store”—“Cake Store and Bakery”—“Wine and Tea Store,” explain themselves. “Liberty Street”—“Amos Street”—“Thirty-first Street”—“Avenue A.” are not less characteristic. But the following list of places on Long Island, affixed to an Inn-door at Brooklyn, is not a little curious:—“Flat Bush and Bath—Hempstead—Jerusalem—Cow Neck—Westbury—Mosquito Cove—Jericho—Oyster Bay—Huntingdon—Eastwood—Dixhill—Babylon, and Islip, Stage-house.”—*Id.* vol. i. p. 18.



caused much less alarm than that of 1819, though the infected district was far more extensive, and occupied a part of the city that was supposed to be healthy.... The seeds of the disease are undoubtedly imported, whether it is ever generated here or not. Indeed, there is scarcely a summer in which some case of the fever does not occur at the Lazaretto, through vessels from the West Indies or the more southern points of the United States. That the disorder does not extend itself, is imputed to the pureness of the atmosphere at the time being. It is certain, that the inhabitants of New York, who would have considered their lives in jeopardy by entering their dwellings one day, take peaceable possession of them the morning after a wholesome frost with entire impunity."\* Although the true yellow fever is certainly imported, yet it is admitted, that a fever strongly resembling it sometimes originates in the climate. Upon the whole, the laboured attempt of this American writer to prove that the hazard of the disease has been magnified, leaves an impression the very opposite to that which he aims at producing; and the natural conclusion is, that, during the heats of summer, when the thermometer frequently stands above 80° for many successive days, New York is far from being a salubrious residence. According to the statement of Dr. Mitchell, however, upwards of one-third of the deaths in New York, are occasioned by consumption and debility.

\* *Notions of the Americans*, vol. i. pp. 153—159. It would seem that the "allps," or irregular docks of the harbour, which are apt to become very foul and offensive in the hot weather, have generally been the spots to which the origination or first appearance of the yellow fever has been traced. There appears to be little doubt, in fact, as to its strictly endemic origin; and it has become epidemic only under extraordinary circumstances.—See *Warden's United States*, vol. i. ch. 7.



“To the influence of moisture and the sudden changes of the weather,” says Mr. Lambert, “has been attributed the prevalence of nervous disorders and debility among a great number of the inhabitants of the United States. Much may, no doubt, be ascribed to those causes; but I think the mode of living has a more immediate effect upon the human frame, than even the climate. The higher and middling classes of the Americans live, generally speaking, in a more luxurious manner than the same description of people in England. The constant use of segars by the young men, even from an early age, may also tend to impair the constitution, and create a stimulus beyond that which nature requires, or is capable of supporting. The effects of a luxurious, or of a meagre diet, are equally injurious to the constitution, and, together with the sudden and violent changes of the climate, may create a series of nervous complaints, consumption, and debility, which, in the States bordering on the Atlantic, carry off at least one-third of the inhabitants in the prime of life.”\*

The environs of New York afford some very agreeable excursions. Long Island, in particular, is a favourite summer resort. The climate is deemed very salubrious, and there are numerous villages at short distances along the shore. A little above Brooklyn, a town fast rising into importance, immediately opposite to the city, and communicating with it by a steam ferry boat, the United States have established a navy-yard, and are building ships of war. The navy-yard is conveniently situated upon the bank of a com-

\* Lambert, vol. i. pp. 82, 3. The rate of mortality in New York, is very considerably higher than in London, and suicide is not less frequent. This Traveller is disposed to ascribe a prejudicial effect to the crowded churchyards and vaults in the heart of the town.



modious little bay, opening into the Sound, where vessels of the largest class may float in safety. Here lies the famous steam frigate, "Fulton the First," dismantled and roofed in; "a most tortoise-looking man of war," says Mr. Duncan, "in shape pretty nearly an oblong octagon, rounded off a little at the corners;" and he describes its construction as follows.

"The steam frigate is a double boat resting upon two keels, with an intervening space, 156 feet long, and 15 feet wide, in which the paddle-wheel revolves. This is carefully covered in, so as to be as much as possible unapproachable by shot. The wheel has a free motion both ways upon its axis, so that it can propel the vessel with either end foremost. For this purpose, each individual boat has two rudders, one at each end, which are also carefully defended: each pair acts simultaneously, and when the pair at one end is in operation, the other is secured so as to offer no obstruction to the vessel's progress. She carries two bowsprits and two masts, which are intended to bear latteen sails. The rigging formed no part of the original design, but was added at the suggestion of Captain Porter, who had been appointed to her command. The sides are 4 feet 10 inches thick, composed of four thicknesses of oak timber, alternately vertical and horizontal. Her gun-ports, thirty in number, are all on the principal deck, and go completely round both ends of the vessel, so that, if necessary, her shot can fly simultaneously at every angle, like radii from the centre of a circle. She carries thirty-two-pounders, some of which are in the carriages; with these, she is intended to throw red-hot shot, for preparing which she is amply provided with furnaces. Fulton also intended that she should carry upon her upper deck four Columbiads, as they are called; enormous guns,



capable of discharging a ball of a hundred pounds weight into an enemy's vessel, under the water mark. At present, however, her upper deck is without any armament, but is surrounded with a strong bulwark. The officers' cabins are in the centre of the vessel, or on the main deck. The steam-boilers are contained in the one boat, and the engine in the other. Room is left for a machine, which Fulton purposed to add, capable of discharging with great force an incessant stream of water, either hot or cold, which, it was anticipated, would completely inundate an enemy's armament and ammunition, if it did not also destroy the men. Her machinery impels her at the rate of five and a half knots an hour; and her inventor felt confident that, in a calm or light breeze, no seventy-four would be a match for her. . . . . But I am led to think that considerable doubt prevails as to the possibility of working her, so as to make her efficient against an enemy's vessel. Fulton died before her engine was put on board. Had he lived to superintend its complete adjustment, it is impossible to say to what degree of perfection he might have brought it; but his Biographer acknowledges that there are, at present, great and obvious defects in her machinery. During the trial voyages, various inconveniences were experienced. One of these was the heat of the furnaces, which is so insupportable, that the engine-men cannot remain beside them for more than a minute or two at a time. In the confusion and bustle of an action, it would probably be found extremely difficult, if not impossible, to regulate with deliberation and coolness the many complicated operations which would be necessary in such a machine; and where so much internal combustion is going forward, the slightest inattention or accident in managing the powder, might be



instantaneously fatal to all on board. Should they succeed in overcoming these difficulties, and acquire that expertness in her management which practice alone can be expected to produce, we can scarcely imagine, for a bay or harbour, a more powerful instrument of attack or defence. Independent of wind or tide, she could plough her way under an enemy's stern, or across his bows, and vomit forth her flaming balls wherever the foe was most vulnerable; while the reverting of the paddle-wheel would instantly relieve her from a wrong position, without the delay of working round; and the enormous thickness of her sides would render any but the largest guns inefficient upon her timbers.

"The commissioners, in their last report, recommended that, notwithstanding the peace, she should be commissioned and sent to sea, that officers and men might be trained to her management, and that defects in her construction might be discovered and obviated. But this recommendation could have been complied with only at an expense which would ill-agree with American ideas of economy; and here she lies, slumbering in ignoble indolence and security. I would add with all my heart, *Requiescat in pace.*" \*

The heights of Brooklyn overlook the city and harbour; and during the Revolutionary war, some fortifications were hastily thrown up there by the citizens; but, happily, the peace prevented their completion. Dr. Dwight speaks of this elevation as the finest position for a view of the magnificent scenery. But the best bird's eye view of the city, is said to be gained from the high ground between the Hackensack and North

\* Duncan; vol. i. pp. 35—41. The keel of this singular vessel was laid in June 1814. By May 1815, her engine was put on board, various obstacles having impeded its construction; and before that period, Fulton had died.



Rivers, on the New Jersey side of the Hudson.\* This is another of the favourite tours of the New York citizens. A third is to Staten Island, which is esteemed so salubrious, that the Corporation have selected its shore as a fit place for receiving invalids and sickly ships from abroad. For an ample description of all that is attractive in the vicinity, we must, however, refer our readers to the "Picture of New York." Our business is simply to note the more distinguishing features of the country.

Long Island is, for the most part, like the peninsula of Cape Cod, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and a considerable tract in the southern part of Massachusetts, a vast body of fine yellow sand, rising from 100 to 200, and, in some places, to nearly 300 feet above the level of the ocean. Of the same sand, Dr. Dwight says, is formed the immense beach extending everywhere as a barrier against the ocean, in front of the great bay which reaches on the south side of the island from Hempstead to Southampton, about 80 miles, communicating with the Atlantic by a few narrow inlets. This beach is tossed into various wild and fantastic forms. In many places, the yellow sand, as on Cape Cod, is covered with a thin stratum of white sand, sometimes naked, but generally overspread with a layer of soil. The stones found on the island have universally, as far as examined by the learned Traveller, a rounded appearance, as if they had been long washed with water. It has been supposed, that both

\* The hill is called Weehawk. Near the foot of it is a ferry to "*the Duelling Ground*" of Hoboken, where the "honourable questions" of the New York duellists are speedily decided. It can be readily approached only by water. There stands the tomb of the lamented Hamilton,—in ruins!—Picture of New York, pp. 322, 356. This spot is chosen in order to evade the laws of New York.



Long Island and Staten Island were originally joined to the main, forming part of that vast sandy beach extending from Cape Florida to Cape Cod, which appears to have been thrown up by the remarkable current known by the name of the Gulf-stream. Marine shells and marsh-mud have been dug up at various places at the depth of 20, 30, and even 50 feet; and marine substances have been found at a considerable distance in the interior.\* In the township of Smith-town on Long Island, there is pond called Ronkonkama, which is said to rise regularly for seven years, and to fall with the same regularity through the following seven. It abounds with perch. Dr. Dwight, however, who reports this extraordinary circumstance "on authority that cannot be rationally questioned," hesitates to vouch for the truth of the story.†

Captain Basil Hall made an excursion from New York, to see the falls of the Passaic, in New Jersey. "These falls," he says, "which are dammed up for six days in the week to turn machinery, and let loose on Sunday, are considered as one of the most fashionable sights in the neighbourhood; and I must own," he adds, "that their popularity does credit to the taste of the cockneys of New York." But he apologises for "skipping" a description of this natural curiosity.‡

| \* See Dwight's Travels, vol. iii. pp. 278—285.

† Dwight, vol. iii. p. 272. A minute statistical and topographical account of the whole State of New York, will be found in this valuable but somewhat prolix work.

‡ This Traveller is a little capricious. He devotes three pages to the description of the common arrangements of an eating-house, but excuses himself for passing over these picturesque falls. His account of the curious process of moving a brick dwelling "bodily along the ground," an operation of which he had ocular demonstration while at New York, is, however, some compensation for this omission.—See Basil Hall, vol. i. pp. 38—44



According to the Picture of New York, "immense masses of perpendicular rocks rise to the height of 100 feet from the level of the water in the basin below, their tops fringed with evergreen. Some violent convulsion of nature appears to have rent these rocks to their bases, as numerous cracks and deep fissures appear in all directions. Nothing can be imagined more truly wild and picturesque than the scenery hereabouts." It is "a nest of rocks and mountains." Of the cascade itself, we have no further description; but the adjacent village of Patterson, with its numerous cotton-manufactories, is destined, we are told, with a singular misapplication of the expression, to become the "Birmingham of America!"\*

But we must now, with Captain Basil Hall, "disentangle ourselves from the fascinations of this great city," and prepare to ascend the majestic river to which the graphic description and legendary stories of Geoffrey Crayon have imparted a sort of classic interest.

#### FROM NEW YORK TO LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

"Formerly," says this Traveller, "the passage from New York to Albany, was considered as an affair of a week or ten days. Three days was called good, and forty-eight hours excellent; though a fortnight was not very uncommon. Now, however, the same voyage is currently made in thirteen hours; sometimes in

\* Picture of New York, pp. 352—4. In 1825, there were at Patterson, twelve cotton-mills, moving 22,000 spindles, three woollen factories, two duck-factories, &c. Passaic river rises in the northern part of the State, and flowing south, falls into Newark bay. At the great falls, nearly up to which it is navigable by small vessels, ten miles from its mouth, the river descends perpendicularly 70 feet in an entire sheet, "presenting a scene of singular beauty and grandeur."—Carey and Lea's Atlas.



twelve; and it has been done in little more than eleven, which, considering that the distance is 145 miles, is great going. What would good old Hendrick Hudson, the original founder of the colony, have said, had he looked out of his grave, and seen our gallant steamer, the *Constellation*, come flying past him like a comet, at the rate of twelve knots an hour? He would be apt enough to declare, that it was the veritable Flying Dutchman of which so much has been told; and his first emotions might probably be those of envy at the glorious pipe his spectre countryman\* was smoking. But if anybody were to attempt to convince him that the apparition he saw dashing by at the peep of day, was a ship without sails or oars, which had left Manhattan Island, or New York, at sunset the evening before, the worthy old gentleman could scarcely be blamed for declaring the whole story, with all its circumstances, a parcel of monstrous lies. It is not Albany alone, however, that is benefited by these numerous and swift-moving vessels. The country both above and below, and on both banks of the river, derives from them nearly equal advantages. Stony Point, West Point, and fifty other points and towns, and burghs,—Sparta, Poughkeepsie, Fishkill, Newburgh, Troy, Glasgow, Gibbonsville, and so on, line the sides of this immense artery, through which are poured the resources of the interior, and by which also the productions of every corner of the globe are sent back to the heart of the country.”†

“For the first fifty miles from its mouth, the Hudson is never much less than a mile in width; and in two instances, it expands into small lakes of twice that

\* This is a mistake; Hudson was an Englishman.

† Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 102.



breadth ; running always in a direction a little W. of N. The eye at first looks along an endless vista, that narrows by distance. The western shore is a perpendicular rock, weather-worn and venerable, bearing a little the appearance of artificial parapets, from which word it takes its name. This rock has a very equal altitude of about 500 feet. At the foot of this wall of stone, there is occasionally room for the hut of some labourer in the quarries which are wrought in its side ; and now and then, a house is seen seated on a narrow bottom that may furnish subsistence for a few cattle, or, perhaps, a garden for the occupant. The opposite bank is cultivated to the water, though it is also high, unequal, and broken. A few villages are seen, white, neat, and thriving, and of a youthful vigorous air, as is generally the case with an American village ; while there is scarcely an eligible site for a dwelling, that is not occupied by a villa or one of the convenient and respectable-looking farm-houses of the country. Orchards, cattle, fields of grain, and all the other signs of a high domestic condition, serve to heighten the contrast of the opposing banks." \* Such is the general

. \* Cooper's Notions, vol. i. p. 272. The lands on the left bank of the Hudson, for a considerable distance above New York, were formerly, Captain Basil Hall was told, held by great proprietors, chiefly by the Livingstone family ; " but the abolition of entails, and the repeal of the law of primogeniture, have already broken it down into small portions. The manor of Livingstone, an extensive and fertile district, formerly owned by one person, is now divided into forty or fifty parcels, belonging to as many different proprietors. And as these new possessors clear away and cultivate the soil at a great rate, the population goes on swelling rapidly . . . Every thing," he adds, " that we saw in those districts not actually under the plough, wore an air of premature and hopeless decay. The ancient manor-houses were allowed to fall to pieces ; the trees of the parks and pleasure-grounds were all untended ; and the rank grass was thickly matted along with weeds over the walks."—Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 49. It must have been one of these " boweries "



character of what is termed the first division of the river, before entering the Highlands. The more distinct description furnished by Mr. Duncan, will probably not be unacceptable to the reader.

“About a mile above New York, and nearly opposite to Hoboken, is the village of Greenwich, (erected in former times as a retreat from the yellow fever,) now almost an integral part of the city. Above Greenwich, the banks on the right ” (the left bank of the river) “slope with a gentle declivity to the water, and are in general thickly wooded : on the left, they are frequently broken and precipitous. About fifteen miles up the river, Kingsbridge heights appear on the right ; and below them, Haarlem creek, as it is called, which stretches with an irregular curve from the Hudson into Long Island Sound, giving to the Manhattan territory its insular character, and limiting the jurisdiction of the City corporation of New York. The New Jersey shore now becomes bold and precipitous ; and for several miles, an abrupt wall of granite raises its bare forehead on the left to a height of nearly 200 feet. The Palisades, as this range has been most appropriately denominated, form a striking feature in the landscape ; they are in general from 200 to 300 feet from the water’s edge. In some places, the front has been broken, and irregular masses of rock have tumbled downwards to the water ; but, for the most part, it is smooth and perpendicular, like the wall of an ancient fortress, while, here and there, a solitary

or country seats, which Dr. Karl Knipperhausen purchased, and where Dolph Heyliger found his treasure. But Captain Basil Hall is hardly fair in ascribing the decay of these old Dutch manor-houses and their “ pictures,” and the disappearance of the ancient aristocracy of the New Netherlands, over which he mourns, simply to the “ blighting tempest of democracy.” It is singular how differently the same scene may strike different travellers.



pine, 'moor'd on the rifted rock,' seems, like the banner of a citadel, to wave a proud defiance from the edge of the cliff.\*

"With the Palisades, terminates the State of New Jersey; and we approach a wider part of the stream, which the early Dutch settlers dignified with the appellation of the Tappaan Sea, but which was, in after times, modified into that of Tappaan Bay. This lake, as we may call it, is about ten miles long, and the banks are from four to seven miles apart, presenting a very considerable variety of landscape;—'here, the bold promontory, crowned with embowering trees, advancing into the bay,—there, the long woodland slope sweeping up from the shore in rich luxuriance;—while at a distance, a long waving line of rocky heights throw their gigantic shades across the water.'† In many places, the ground has been cleared of wood, and country seats and snug farm-houses, flanked by capacious barns, give variety to the scene; in other situations, however, the forests are yet untamed, and afford the traveller a glimpse of what America formerly was, when none but the Indian traversed its shores, and only the bark canoe glided over its waters. On the traveller's left is Rockland county, a favourite resort of the early Dutch settlers. The race is, hitherto, so unmixed, that very little English is spoken

\* Lieutenant F. Hall says, that the whole of this ridge closely resembles Under Cliff in the Isle of Wight.

† Knickerbocker, vol. ii. ch. 2. The "Sleepy Hollow," we are told, was not far from the rural port of Greensburgh, which was situated "in the bosom of one of those spacious coves that indent the eastern shore of the Hudson, at that broad expansion of the river denominated by the ancient Dutch navigators, the Tappaan Zee, and where they always prudently shortened sail, and implored the protection of St. Nicholas when they crossed."—Sketch Book, vol. ii. p. 281.



in any part of the county. Some of the land on the right contains good free-stone, and has been valued so high as 1500 dollars an acre (about 340*l.* sterling).

“ I was particularly struck, in my progress up this lordly stream, with the multitude of thriving little towns, which, at short intervals, stud its banks. They are generally of wood, and some are obviously of recent origin ; but in others, a sprinkling of brick buildings gives an aspect of comparative antiquity and a promise of permanence to the settlement. All of them have wharfs projecting into the river, which are never without sloops loading or discharging : in many of them are to be found banks and courts of justice.\*

“ Somewhat above the Tappaan Bay, there is a contraction and sudden bend of the channel ; and the stream, after washing in its descent the basis of the mountainous range denominated the Highlands, makes a circuit round a bold headland called Verplank's Point, which projects from the eastern shore. The turn is so sudden, that, in going up the river, the banks at a little distance seem to close completely in ; and it is not till you have approached very near it, that the narrow channel appears upon the left, through which the river issues from the mountainous region. Before we reached this part of our course, a most agreeable change took place in the weather. The clouds broke, and the rays of the sun burst through ; the winds subsided into a gentle breeze, the temperature of the air became perceptibly milder, and we entered the

\* On the eastern shore, opposite to Rockland, at the distance of thirty miles from New York, is a place called Sing-sing, where there is a Penitentiary or State Prison, established upon the Auburn system. Captain Basil Hall speaks in the highest terms of the admirable manner in which this establishment is managed, of which he gives a full account.—Basil Hall, vol. i. pp. 51—79.



Alpine region under the cheering and beautifying influence of a lovely autumnal afternoon, rendered doubly enlivening by the previous contrast. Verplank's Point commands a fine prospect of the river. The bank swells up with a gradual but rapid slope; the brow of it is crowned with a neat family mansion; and a little below, the roof of the tea-house appears from among the trees. Behind, rise the lofty hills, and you could almost imagine yourself on the margin of Loch Lomond, or some other of our Scottish lakes.\* Our floating leviathan now entered the narrow channel, and we were soon surrounded with the Highlands of the Hudson. These are said to form a part of the eastern or Blue Ridge division of the Apalachian mountains, a continuation of which skirts the boundaries of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and pursuing a north-easterly course, passes through Vermont into Canada. The height of the more elevated points on the banks of the Hudson, does not much exceed 1500 feet. They are, of course, low in comparison with a great many of the mountains of Scotland; but their effect in the landscape is much more imposing than that of more elevated masses in a hilly country.

“An American mountain is, in general, very unlike a Scottish one. Ours are bare, craggy ridges, sharp and angular in their outline, rearing a flinty peak towards heaven, with, perhaps, a few straggling bushes scattered near the base; but more commonly, the purple heather or yellow broom is all that is found on the scanty patches of earth which here and there cling to

\* Captain Basil Hall describes the river, on approaching West Point, as assuming all the grandeur of the finest lochs in the Scottish highlands, with the additional embellishment of a rich coating of foliage reaching from the summits nearly to the water's edge.



its sides. In America, the hills swell up in undulating curves, rounded gracefully off both at the base and the summit, and carpeted completely over with dense forests of pine. In the Highlands of the Hudson, however, there is a partial intermingling of the Scottish character: bare masses of rock project at intervals from among the thick foliage, and creeping shrubs of various kinds weave a net-work round them. The mellowing tints of autumn were now spreading themselves among the forest leaves, imparting to the scenery the richness and variety which are peculiar to the season; and as our steam-boat ploughed its way along, the eye feasted itself on the ever-varying landscape, or rested on the brilliant reflection in the placid mirror below.

“The ramparts of Fort Putnam now opened to our view on the left, perched upon a natural platform, about two-thirds up the ridge. Events of tragical interest in the history of the Revolutionary war, identify themselves with this fortress,—events which can never be forgotten while the name of André survives.\*

\* “The ruins of military works are scattered profusely among these wild and rugged hills; and more than one tale of blood and daring is recounted to the traveller as he glides along their sombre shadows.”—Cooper's *Notions*, vol. i. p. 274. The spot which the local superstition has consecrated to the manes of poor André, is, however, near the Tappan Zee. “In the centre of the road stood an enormous tulip-tree, which towered like a giant above all the other trees of the neighbourhood, and formed a kind of land-mark. It was connected with the tragical story of the unfortunate André, who had been taken prisoner hard by, and was universally known by the name of Major André's tree. The common people regarded it with a mixture of respect and superstition, partly out of sympathy for the fate of its ill-starred namesake, and partly from the tales of strange sights and doleful lamentations told concerning it.... About two hundred yards from the tree, a small brook crossed the road, and ran into a marshy and thickly wooded



Beyond Fort Putnam, on another elevated flat of considerable extent, stands the Military Academy of West Point, containing 250 cadets. This institution was established by the General Government a considerable time ago ; but since last war, it has been fostered with assiduous care, and now the tactics of Napoleon's school are taught in it by men who discharged similar offices in the Polytechnic schools of France. A bare rock on the opposite side of the river, serves the young soldiers as a target, and its battered brow bears token of their proficiency.\*

“ Nearly opposite to West Point is the Sugar Loaf Mountain, conspicuous by its regularly conical outline ; and among a numerous succession of others are the Crow's Nest, Butter Hill, and New Beacon. Anthony's Nose tosses high on the right a bare peak of granite, and holds its name in virtue of the real or fancied appearance of its beetling top. A large rock, which once crowned the summit of Butter Hill, 1520 feet above tide-water, now reposes on a sand-bank in

glen, known by the name of Wiley's Swamp. A few rough logs, laid side by side, served for a bridge over this stream. On that side of the road where the brook entered the wood, a groupe of oaks and chestnuts, matted thick with wild grape-vines, threw a cavernous gloom over it. It was at this identical spot that the unfortunate André was captured : and under the covert of those chestnuts and vines were the sturdy yeomen concealed who surprised him. This has ever since been considered as a haunted stream, and fearful are the feelings of the school-boy who has to pass it alone after dark.”—*Legend of Sleepy Hollow*. Dr. Dwight states, that André was taken at Tarry-town, and executed at Tappan, on the opposite shore.—*Travels*, vol. i. p. 423.

\* This is the only institution of the kind in the United States, which is maintained at the expense of the General Government. Captain Basil Hall visited it, and praises the efficient manner in which it is conducted. The nominations lie with the President of the United States, and the applications are numerous.



the bed of the river, opposite West Point, far enough from the shore for vessels to sail round it.”\*

This was the land of romance to the early settlers ; and Indian tradition had peopled the high lands with imaginary beings, before the Flying Dutchman had been seen or heard of on the Hudson. These aboriginal superstitions, however, are well nigh forgotten in the more recent adventures of Dolph Heyliger and Rip Van Winkle. Geoffrey Crayon has selected this part of the river as a subject for one of his graphic sketches. “ To the left, the Dunderberg reared its wooded precipices height over height, forest over forest, away into the deep summer sky. To the right strutted forth the bold promontory of Anthony’s Nose with a solitary eagle wheeling about it ; while beyond, mountain succeeded to mountain, until they seemed to lock their arms together, and confine this mighty river in their embraces. There was a feeling of quiet luxury in gazing at the broad, green bosoms here and there scooped out among the precipices ; or at woodlands high in air, nodding over the edge of some beetling bluffs, and their foliage all transparent in the yellow sunshine.”† The Dunderberg (or, as Dr. Dwight writes it, Donderbarrak) receives its name, Thunder-Hill, from its echoes, which, when awakened by the tempests of summer, have a magnificent effect. This

\* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 311—318. An account of the transition of the rock from its original resting-place, is given from the American Journal of Science. It seems that it used to be a common amusement for the officers, when off duty, to roll large rocks from the sides of the hills. In June 1778, Colonel Putnam and a party of friends, having provided themselves with axes, ropes, and levers, contrived to launch this large rock, which overhung the precipice ; and once set in motion, it carried every thing before it in its route to the river.

† Bracebridge Hall, vol. ii. p. 295.



part of the river is particularly subject to sudden flaws\* of wind from the mountains; and the name of Weygat (or Windgate) has been given to the opening between the majestic cliffs of the Butter Hill and Brecknock range, on account of the violence with which the wind often blows through the narrow channel. From the summit of the Sugar-loaf, an excellent view is obtained of the grand and solemn scenery, including the Kaatskill mountains, which are seen at the distance of about 40 miles, their blue summits lost in the clouds.†

Above the Highlands, the Hudson assumes a different character, its bed again expanding to a breadth of about three miles. "From the bay of Newburgh to

\* It was one of these flaws which threw on her beam-ends the sloop in which Dolph Heyliger took his passage for Albany, and occasioned his being knocked overboard. Just as they turned the point where the river "makes a sudden bend, the only one in the whole course of its majestic career," and which must therefore have been, we are told, the bend at West Point, "a violent flaw of wind came sweeping down a mountain gully, bending the forest before it, and, in a moment, lashing up the river into white froth and foam." It was on a point of the western shore that Dolph landed, and scrambled up the rocks. "The captains of the river-craft talk of a little bulbous-bottomed Dutch goblin in trunk hose and sugar-loafed hat, with a speaking trumpet in his hand, which, they say, keeps about the Dunderberg. They declare that they have heard him, in stormy weather, in the midst of the turmoil, giving orders in low Dutch for the piping up of a fresh gust of wind, or the rattling off of another thunderclap." At Pollopol's Island, the jurisdiction of the Dunderberg potentate ceases; and there, "the little white sugar-loaf hat on the mast head, which was known to be the hat of the Heer of the Dunderberg, spun up into the air like a top, whirled up the clouds into a vertex, and hurried them back to the summit of the Dunderberg, while the sloop righted herself and sailed on as quietly as if in a mill-pond."—Bracebridge Hall, vol. ii. pp. 298, 330. The invention of steam-vessels has, however, materially lessened the power of the goblin.

† Dr. Dwight ascended this peak, and has given a minute description of the country it commands.—*Travels*, vol. iii. p. 413.



that of Hudson, a distance of between 60 and 70 miles, it appears," Mr. Cooper says, "like a succession of beautiful lakes, each reach preserving the proportions and appearance of a separate sheet of water, rather than of part of a river. From Hudson to Albany, a distance of 36 miles, the Hudson acquires more of the character of a river. It is dotted with islands, much like the Seine above Caudebec, and its scenery is picturesque] and agreeable."\* As far as Hudson, 124 miles above New York, a ship of the line of 64 guns may ascend the river without meeting with a single obstruction. The tide flows to the height of 12 inches at Albany; and vessels of 80 tons can ascend to Troy, seven miles higher, or even to the mouth of the Mohawk. The country north of the Highlands, Dr. Dwight supposes to have been, in fact, originally a vast lake. The valley of the Hudson is here, in some places, not far from 40 miles in breadth. The mountains on both sides form a complete barrier to the waters of such a lake, while, on the south, the highlands would keep its waters to a great height, till they forced open their present channel,—possibly by "the slow recession of a cataract between Anthony's Nose and Bear Hill."† The waters of this noble river are, to a great extent, the learned Writer remarks, derived

\* Cooper's Notions, vol. i. p. 274.

† This opinion accords with that of Dr. Mitchell, the American Editor of Cuvier's Theory of the Earth. "The Catskill mountains," says the learned writer, "are composed chiefly of granite and gneiss, abounding in loose nodules and solid veins of magnetical iron ore. The width of the chain may be rated at about sixteen miles. According to the barometrical observations of Captain Partridge, of the corps of engineers, Butternut, on the west side of the river, is 1529 feet above tide-water, and the New Beacon 1565 feet. This thick and solid barrier seems in ancient days to have impeded the course of the water, and to have raised a lake high enough to cover all the country, to Quaker Hill and the



from the ocean, its only tributaries being mere mill-streams ; and “ the rest of the waters owe the greatness of their mass chiefly to the fact, that, in consequence of the lowness of their bed, they are stopped and heaped up by its influence.” Owing to this circumstance, the Hudson is the most navigable river, in proportion to the supplies which it receives from its fountains, perhaps in the world.\*

After passing the highlands, in ascending the river, the Kaatskill mountains, on the left, are for a great distance every where visible, “ swelling up to a noble height, and lording it over the surrounding country. Every change of season, every change of weather, indeed every hour of the day, produces some change in the magical lines and shapes of these mountains ; and they are regarded by all the good wives far and near, as perfect barometers. When the weather is fair and settled, they are clothed in blue and purple, and print their bold outlines on the clear evening sky ; but sometimes, when the rest of the landscape is cloudless, they will gather a hood of grey vapours about their summits, which, in the last rays of the setting sun, will glow and light up like a crown of glory.” † Captain Basil Hall landed at Catskill (as the name of the town is usually written); ‡ and on the following day,

Taconick Mountains on the east, and the Shawangunk and the Catskill mountains on the west. The lake may be calculated to have extended to the Little Falls of the Mohawk and to Hadley's Falls on the Hudson.”—Mitchell's Observations cited in Hodgson's Letters, vol. i. p. 331.

\* Dwight, vol. iii. pp. 426, 7.

† Sketch Book, vol. i. p. 49.

‡ This town is nearly opposite to Hudson. Lieutenant F. Hall left the Hudson at Fishkill, opposite to Newburgh, and proceeded to Albany by land. “ About three miles from Fishkill,” he says, “ a wild torrent rushed over its bed of broken rocks across the road ; the romantic bridge flung over its brawling course, the mill



climbed this beautiful and steep range to a place called Pine Orchard, a favourite resort of parties from New York and Albany, where a splendid hotel has risen "like an exhalation," on the very brink of the precipice, some five and twenty hundred feet above the river, commanding a very extensive view of the valley of the Hudson. The Falls of the Cauterskill are a picturesque object in this neighbourhood; and the valley called "the Clove," forming a deep indenture in the mountains, shews off the scenery to great advantage. The highest point of this ridge has been estimated at 3549 feet above the sea. The basis of the mountains consists of the same freestone as the Blue Ridge, of which it appears to be a prolongation or a "dismembered branch."

On the eastern side of the river, the route to Albany lies through a country gently undulating, and thickly intersected with forests, from which, however, the noblest timber has been almost wholly extracted. Dutchess county, of which Poughkeepsie\* is the shire town, is reckoned one of the best tracts of land in the State: it is remarkably well cultivated, and filled up with inhabitants. To this succeeds Columbia county, in which Hudson is situated; and then the county and territory of Rennselaar, which takes its name from the family of the great hereditary landed proprietor, the *patroon* of Albany and the surrounding country. This singular vestige of feudalism in the midst of universal democracy, is believed to be almost the only instance of the kind now extant,—at least

on its craggy banks, and the deep wooded glen down which it hastens to the Hudson, deserve a place in every traveller's journal."—Hall's Canada, p. 20.

\* This flourishing town of cacophonous name, is reckoned half way between New York and Albany



in the Northern States. Mr. Van Rennselaar still retains the Dutch title of *patroon*, equivalent to *Seigneur*; he is reported to have 30 miles of territory, and 5000 tenants, and to be worth seven millions of dollars.\*

Albany, the seat of the State Legislature of New York, has been lately brought into considerable mercantile importance as a place of transit and deposite, by the great Erie canal, the eastern entrance to which lies almost within the town; and it is consequently rapidly swelling on every hand. In the year 1792, Dr. Dwight says, it contained few houses built in the modern English manner. "The body was composed of clumsy Dutch buildings, a great number of which had been erected from eighty to a hundred years. Seven successive fires, five of which were kindled by incendiaries, have swept away a large part of these, as well as many other buildings, so that the inhabitants have been compelled to build a considerable part of the town anew."† In the year 1790, Albany contained 3498 inhabitants; in the year 1810, (including the suburb of Coloniè,) 10,762; having more than tripled its population in twenty-years. Two-thirds of its houses must of course have been added since the former census, besides many that have been rebuilt. Albany is, therefore, for the most part a new town. Mr. Duncan estimates its population, in 1819, at

\* Hall's Canada, p. 27. Duncan's Travels, vol. i. p. 325. The latter Traveller states the territory of this gentleman to extend 60 miles in length, including two counties with a population of 60,000 or 70,000 persons.

† Of the city of Albany in its primitive state, and of the manners and customs of the old Albanians, we have an interesting account in Mrs. Grant's "Memoirs of an American Lady," vol. i. ch. 6, &c. This work is not altogether superseded even by Knickerbocker's History.



between 12,000 and 13,000 : it must be now much more considerable. Dr. Dwight says, the public buildings have been as much improved as the private ones. He mentions the State-house, ten churches,\* an arsenal, a prison, and three banks. The new Dutch church in Hudson-street is described as one of the best and most beautiful of the kind he had seen. The streets are well paved ; and upon the whole, few towns have so advantageous an appearance. The inhabitants, who are chiefly "immigrants" from New England and other parts, are distinguished by their public spirit. A singular mixture of poverty and splendour meets the eye in some parts of the town. "A number of the old Dutch erections," Mr. Duncan says, "are still standing ; small houses of red and yellow bricks with the gable end to the street, having a door and window in the ground floor, a single window in the next, and above it, the year of their erection embossed upon the surface in huge iron figures, and the whole surmounted with an iron weathercock rusted upon the rod.† There is an air of antiquity about these [buildings, which is interesting in a country where antiquity is so rare. The modern

\* Mr. Duncan enumerates eleven, viz.—3 Presbyterian, 2 Dutch Reformed, 1 Dutch Lutheran, 1 Baptist, 1 Episcopalian, 1 Methodist, 1 Quaker, and 1 Romish.

† The very description given by Geoffrey Crayon of Antony Vander Heyden's house, in the days when Albany "was in all its glory, inhabited almost exclusively by the descendants of the original Dutch settlers ;" when every thing was quiet and orderly, and the grass grew about the unpaved streets. The houses were built, in those days, partly of wood and partly of small Dutch bricks, "such as the worthy colonists brought with them from Holland, before they discovered that bricks could be manufactured elsewhere."—See Bracebridge Hall, vol. ii. pp. 343, 231. Many of the neighbouring villages, Lieutenant Hall says, "continue almost entirely Dutch.



erections exhibit the same tasteful style which prevails in New York and Philadelphia. Two or three of the public buildings are of white marble. One of them is surmounted with a very neat dome; but in another, the effect of the marble wall is sadly disfigured by the untasteful addition of a red-tiled roof. The Capitol or State-house has rather a neat portico, and a dome surmounted with a statue of Justice. Near the Capitol is a very neat academy, with two wings built of reddish-coloured freestone." \* The Patroon's residence is in a pleasant situation, a little to the northward of the city. Nearly opposite to the town is a large wooded hill, on which are barracks capable of holding, it is said, nearly 10,000 men.

Albany, though not reputed unhealthy, is very warm in the summer months, the thermometer ranging sometimes from 85° to 92°. In winter, the cold is not less severe, and the Hudson becomes frozen up, so as to afford a regular road across the ice between the opposite shores. Mrs. Grant describes the periodical breaking up of the ice as a spectacle of uncommon interest and grandeur. Its approach being announced by a loud and long peal like thunder, the whole population of Albany, in former times, would be assembled at the river side in a moment, to witness the passage of the ice. "Every house was left empty; the meanest slave, the youngest child, all were to be found on the shore, immoveable and silent as death," till the whole was past. It is the swelling of the water under the ice, increased by rivulets enlarged by melted snow, that produces the phenomenon; the prelude to which

\* Duncan, vol. I. p. 323. The Capitol stands at the upper end of a very steep but wide street, running at right angles to the river. Lieutenant Hall objects to the lofty columned portico as too large for the building, which, being but small, "looks all porch."



is a fracture lengthways in the middle of the stream, produced by the effort of the imprisoned waters. "Conceive," says this Writer, "a solid mass from six to eight feet thick, bursting for many miles in one continued rupture, produced by a force inconceivably great, and in a manner inexpressibly sudden. Thunder is no adequate image of this awful explosion, which roused all the sleepers within the reach of the sound. The stream, in summer, was confined by a pebbly strand overhung with high and steep banks, crowned with lofty trees. Their tangled roots, laid bare by the impetuous torrents, formed caverns ever fresh and fragrant, where the most delicate plants flourished, unvisited by scorching suns or nipping blasts; and nothing could be more singular than the variety of plants and birds that were sheltered in these intricate and safe recesses. But, when the bursting of the crystal surface set loose the many waters that had rushed down, swollen with the annual tribute of dissolving snow, the islands and lowlands were all flooded in an instant; and the lofty banks from which you were wont to overlook the stream, were now entirely filled [by an impetuous torrent, bearing down, with incredible and tumultuous rage, immense shoals of ice; which breaking every instant by the concussion of others, jammed together in some places, in others erecting themselves in gigantic heights for an instant in the air, and seeming to combat with their fellow giants crowding on in all directions, and falling together with an inconceivable crash,—formed a terrible moving picture, animated and various beyond description. For it was not only the cerulean ice, whose broken edges combating with the stream, refracted light into a thousand rainbows, that charmed your attention; lofty pines, large pieces of the bank



torn off by the ice, with all their early green and tender foliage, were driven on like travelling islands amid this battle of breakers, for such it seemed." \*

About ten miles above Albany, the Hudson receives, on its right bank, the Mohawk river, its principal tributary, and almost equal in size, at the junction, to the main branch. A short distance from its mouth are the falls called the Cohoz or Cahooz,† where the river descends, at high water, in one sheet, to the depth of 70 feet.‡ Their extreme breadth, according to Lieutenant Hall, is about 300 toises, which is much more than the mean breadth of the stream, both above and below them, being increased by the manner in which the ledge of rock forms an obtuse angle in the direction of the current. The bed of the falls is serpentine rock; and according to Volney, this river separates the freestone formation from the primitive. Above the falls, the banks are nearly on a level with the stream, but are increased below by the depth of the descent. In summer, the overflow is scanty; and when Lieutenant Hall saw them, in the middle of March, "a cap of snow rested on the most prominent cliff of the angle, from beneath which the stream filtered in silver veins. The whole effect of these falls," he adds, "the broadest, I believe, in the States, except Niagara, is diminished for want of the relief of a bold, darkly shadowed back-ground. The air of wintry desolation, varied only by the sombre foliage of the

\* Grant's Amer. Lady, vol. ii. pp. 284—6.

† *Cohoz* is the Indian name of the Falls. Volney supposed it to be an imitative word; and by a singular coincidence, he says, he found it applied, in the country of Liège, to a small cascade three leagues from Spa.

‡ Volney says, some reckon it 65 feet in height; others, only 50. The Marquis de Chastellux makes it 75. In Carey and Lea, it is stated at 70, and the breadth at between 300 and 400 yards.



pine and cedar, stretching their dark masses over beds of snow, took little from the rude force of a scene, the character of which is simply grand, rather than lovely or romantic. There is a very good point of view from a long covered bridge, which crosses the Mohawk near its mouth, and leads to the village of Waterford."\*

At Waterford, 180 miles from the sea, the Hudson becomes "a reduced and rural stream, about as large as the Seine at Paris; and can be traced for leagues,—sometimes still, lovely, and green with islands, sometimes noisy, rapid, and tumbling,—until you reach its sources in the rugged, broken mountains of the northern counties of this State." This remarkable river has its source in the township of Tipperary, (co. of Essex,) in about latitude  $44^{\circ} 10'$  N. After running for a short distance S. W., it turns with a right angle S. E., and flows in that direction, till it receives, after a course of between 50 and 60 miles, a branch from the Scaron lake. It then winds southward and eastward, becoming first the northern, and then the eastern limit of the county of Saratoga, till it meets the Mohawk. On reaching the township of Hadley, it suddenly turns to the N. E., and maintains that course to Sandy Hill; whence it pursues a direction nearly due S., declining a little to the west, till it enters the ocean, after a course of about 330 miles.†

Saratoga Springs, about 30 miles N. of Albany, and those of Ballston, 12 miles S. W. of Saratoga, have of late years become the most fashionable watering-places in the United States; and a large concourse of persons assemble there, during the season (from July to September), from every part of the Union, and even from Canada. Although these springs are from 1000 to 1500 miles from the Southern States, the inhabitants

\* Hall's Canada, p. 30.

† Dwight, vol. iii. p. 425.



of Georgia and Carolina speak of them, we are told, with as much familiarity as our Londoners speak of Bath or Cheltenham ;\* and when the summer heats and the dread of the yellow fever, drive them to their plantations, the gentry of the southern climate repair to New York, whence they ascend the Hudson to Albany, and take the stage to Ballston. The Falls of Niagara, Glen's Falls, and the romantic scenery of Lake George, are among the attractive localities, which are generally comprehended in the excursion.

In the year 1792, when Dr. Dwight first visited Ballston springs, they were surrounded with an absolute forest extending to a great distance ; and except a miserable cottage or two, there was not a house within two or three miles. The Rev. Mr. Ball, from whom the township derives its name, informed him, that they were discovered by the resort of deer to them, which was so great as to have made a well-beaten path. Soon after the discovery, they began to be used as remedies for various diseases, particularly chronic rheumatism, which they have sometimes cured in a remarkable manner. They rise in a valley watered by a branch of the same "mill-stream" that flows by Saratoga. In the valley and on the bordering declivities, has now risen a very pretty watering-place, called Ballston Spa. The waters contain in solution†, carbonic

\* Hodgson's Letters, vol. i. p. 51.

† Dr. Steel gives the following analysis of the principal fountain at Ballston Spa. One gallon (or 232 cubic inches) of the water yielded

	<i>Grains.</i>
Muriate of soda .....	159
Carbonate of soda .....	9
„ lime .....	75.5
„ magnesia ..	2.5
„ iron .....	7
	— 253 grains.
Carbonic acid gas.....	210 cubic inches.



acid, muriate of soda, carbonate of lime, carbonate of soda, carbonate of iron, and carbonate of magnesia. They are "strongly diuretic, gently diaphoretic, and aperient; are a pleasant and powerful stimulus to the stomach, and produce a fine exhilaration of spirits." They are deemed most useful in cases of dyspepsy, calculous complaints, cutaneous eruptions, ulcers, and scrofula. To persons affected with pulmonary complaints, they are positively injurious.

The waters of the Saratoga springs are of a similar character. The principal one, called the Congress spring, is found to contain in a gallon of water, 343 cubic inches of carbonic acid gas, (a quantity of fixed air exceeding anything hitherto discovered,) and 676 grains of marine salt and various carbonates.\* Large quantities of the water of this spring, as well as of that at Ballston, are bottled and transmitted weekly to the cities on the sea-coast. Indeed, these waters have become so much an article of merchandise, that considerable quantities are exported every year to the West Indies and to Europe. Saratoga has within a few years become a considerable place, containing several elegant hotels and lodging-houses; and a handsome Presbyterian church has been built, which is supplied by a resident clergyman.†

\* The following analysis is the result of repeated experiment. In 232 cubic inches of water are found

	<i>Grains.</i>
Muriate of soda .....	471.5
Carbonate of lime .....	178.476
„ soda.....	16.5
„ magnesia.....	3.356
„ iron .....	6.168
	<hr/>
	676 grains.

The temperature at the bottom of the spring is uniformly 50° Fahr.

† Dwight, vol. iii. pp. 396—401.



Lake George, about 20 miles N. of Saratoga, is universally considered, Dr. Dwight says, as being in itself and its environs the most beautiful object of the kind in the United States; and several European travellers have given it the preference to the lakes of Switzerland. Even Captain Basil Hall was compelled to acknowledge that here he had "come, at last, to some beautiful scenery in the United States,—beautiful in every respect, and leaving nothing to wish for. I own," he says, "that Lake George exceeded my expectations as far as it exceeds the power of the Americans to overpraise it."\* For a description of the scenery, we must have recourse to the pages of the American Writer.

"The access to the Lake from the South, is eminently noble, being formed by two vast ranges of mountains, which commencing several miles south of Fort George, extend beyond Plattsburg, and terminate near the north line of the State, occupying a distance of about 100 miles. Those on the East are high and bold, and in many places naked and hoary. Those on the West are somewhat inferior, and generally covered with a thick forest to their summits. The road for the last three or four miles, passes through a forest, and conceals the lake from the view of the traveller, until he arrives at the eminence on which Fort George is built. Here is opened at once a prospect the splendour of which is rarely exceeded. The scenery of this spot owes its beauty equally to the water, the islands, the shore, and the mountains.

"The water, probably, is not surpassed by any in the world;† pure, sweet, pellucid, of an elegant hue

\* Detecting nothing in the scenery to find fault with, this determined Censor turns upon the Americans, and rates them for not admiring it more, and then abuses their steam-boats.

† See page 41 of this volume, note †.



when immediately under the eye, and at very small, as well as at greater distances, presenting a gay, luminous azure, and appearing as if a soft lustre undulated everywhere on its surface, with a continual and brilliant emanation. The islands are interesting on account of their number, location, size, and figure. Their number is very great, fancifully computed at 365. Their location is exquisite; solitary, in pairs, and in groupes, containing from three to perhaps thirty, arranged, with relation to each other and the neighbouring shores, in unceasing variety. Their size varies from a few feet to a mile and a half in length. But the diversity of their appearance is peculiarly derived from their surface. A few are naked rocks, and, by the power of contrast, present very interesting features in the aspect of the groupe; while some are partially, and most are completely covered with vegetation. Some are bushy; others, ornamented with a single tree, with two, or three, or many trees. A yet greater number exhibit an entire forest. Some of them, of a long and narrow structure, present through various openings in their umbrage, the sky, the mountains, the points, and other distant beautiful objects, changing to the eye as the traveller approaches and passes them. On a great number, the lofty pine lifts its head above every other tree, waving majestically in the sky. On others, the beech, maple, and oak, with their clustering branches, present the strongest examples of flourishing vegetation. On many, again, decayed, bare, and falling trees are finely contrasted with this vivid effect.

“The shores of this lake exhibit a scarcely less striking aspect. On one side, you are presented with a beach of light-coloured sand, forming a long-extended border, and shewing the purity of its waters in the



strongest light ; on another, a thick, dark forest rises immediately from the rocky shore, overhanging and obscuring the waters with its gloomy foliage. Here, the shore is scooped by a circular sweep ; the next bend is perhaps elliptical ; and the third, a mere indent. The points also are alternately circular, obtuse, and acute angles. Not a few of them are long, narrow slips, resembling many of the islands, shooting either horizontally or with easy declension far into the lake, and covered with a fine variety of forest. In many places, a smoothly-sloping margin, for the distance of one, two, or three miles, presents a cheerful border, as the seat of present or future cultivation. In others, mountainous promontories ascend immediately from the water.

“ The mountains consist of two great ranges bordering the lake from north to south. The western range, however, passes westward of the north-west bay, at the head of which a vast spur, shooting towards the south-east, forms the whole of the peninsula between that bay and the lake. On the latter, it abuts with great majesty in a sudden and noble eminence, crowned with two fine summits. From this spot, fourteen miles from Fort George, it accompanies the lake uninterruptedly to the northern end, and then passes on towards Canada. Both these ranges alternately approach the lake, so as to constitute a considerable part of its shores, and recede from it to the distance sometimes of three miles. They are visible also, in smaller portions and greater, from one to twenty miles in length. Generally, they are covered entirely with forests ; but, in several instances, are dappled with rocks, or absolutely naked, wild and solitary : this appearance is derived chiefly, if not wholly, from conflagrations,



“ The summits of these mountains are of almost every form, from the arch to the bold bluff and sharp cone ; and this variety is almost everywhere visible. In some instances, they are bald, solemn, and forbidding ; in many others, tufted with lofty trees. While casting his eye over them, the traveller is fascinated with the immense diversity of swells, undulations, slopes, and summits, pointed and arched with their piny crowns ; now near, verdant, and vivid ; then gradually receding and becoming more obscure, until the scene closes in misty confusion.

“ The three best points of view are, Fort George, a station a little north of Shelving Rock, 14 miles, and another at Sabbath-day Point, 21 miles from the head of the lake. The last view is to be taken southward ; the other two, northward. From Fort George, the best prospect is taken of the lake itself, which is there seen to the distance of 14 miles, together with the north-west bay, while the mountains are visible on both sides for 25 miles. Six fine islands are also in full view ; and the mountain at the end of the peninsula, rises in the back ground with the utmost advantage ; as does Shelving Rock, a promontory shooting out from the east far into the lake. The scenes of the two remaining prospects are, however, clearly superior to these both in beauty and variety. From Sabbath-day Point, advancing northward, the scenery evidently declines in beauty. Still it is fine, and some of it exquisite. Rogers’s Rock and Anthony’s Nose, uncouth as the latter name may seem,\* are among the most interesting objects in the whole groupe. Even at the

\* Anthony’s Nose seems to have been a favourite name with the old Dutch settlers for mountains distinguished by bold precipices. Besides the mountain so called on the Hudson, and this on Lake George, there are two more on the Mohawk, which have received the same quaint appellation.



northern end, the landscape is of a superior cast, and, in most other regions, would present uncommon attractions." \*

Near the southern extremity of the Lake, a watering place has started up under the direction and by the enterprise of a Mr. Caldwell of Albany, the proprietor of the township, whose name it bears. At its northern extremity, the waters of the Lake descend by a narrow channel into Lake Champlain, † at the foot of the mountain point on which Fort Ticonderoga still frowns defiance on those who ascend the latter basin ; but 'its martial terrors, Lieutenant Hall says, are now extinguished, "or marked only by the crumbling remains of field-works, and the ruin of old fortified barracks." On the right bank of the stream rises Mount Defiance, and on the opposite side of Lake Champlain, Mount Independence ; "names which bespeak their military fame in days of old, but now, like retired country gentlemen, they are content to raise oak and pine woods, instead of frowning batteries."| Lake George, Ticonderoga, and Saratoga, are all classical and popular spots to the native of the United States ; and the guide-books at the Springs, are full of the details of General Burgoyne's surrender and other mishaps at Saratoga ; events which the Americans do well to remember with gratitude to Divine Providence, but which are not of a nature to impart either romantic or historic interest to the scenery in the eyes of a foreigner.

Of Lake Champlain, Dr. Dwight gives the following not very pleasing description. "This piece of

\* Dwight, vol. iii. pp. 336—341.

† The surface of Lake George is stated by Dr. Morse to be 100 feet above the level of Lake Champlain ; Dr. Dwight thinks it to be nearer 300. There are three sets of falls in the stream which flows into the latter.



water extends from Fair Haven to St. John's in Canada, two hundred miles. Its least breadth is half a mile, and its greatest, eighteen miles. Its contents are estimated at 640,000 acres. From Fair Haven to Crown Point, it is narrow, and in some places shallow, but of sufficient depth for any vessels which will ever be needed there. In this division, the waters are of a disagreeable colour ; the shore is lined with a margin of bulrushes ; and a sickly odour prevails. No piece of water can easily be more unpleasant than this part of Lake Champlain." "The country (along this part of the eastern shore) wears an equally disagreeable aspect. The ground is hard clay, glistening in the track of the horse and the wheel ; the surface flat and lifeless ; the forest chiefly pine, and so often burned, that a great number of the trees are either decayed or dead. The inhabitants are universally poor, and their houses are generally log-huts. What inducements any man could find to plant himself in this ground, it is not easy to determine. The climate is sickly, the soil indifferent, the water bad, and the scenery dull and heavy ; and I could not discover the remotest hope of any change for the better.

"Among other disagreeable objects in this region, the streams have a remarkable appearance. The beds in which they flow, are excessively disproportioned in breadth to the quantity of water ; appearing rather as shallow, flat valleys, than as the channels of brooks and mill-streams. One of them, I judged to be not less than sixty rods in breadth ; in the middle of which ran, or rather lay, a mass of water, scarcely sufficient to turn an over-shot mill. In the summer and autumn, they are covered with bulrushes and other rank weeds ; while the pool at the bottom, turbid with clay, resembles in colour dirty suds. In passing these receptacles,



we were saluted with a sweet, sickish effluvium, oppressive to the lungs, and extremely dispiriting to the feelings. In the winter and spring, the streams fill these beds, and demand very long and expensive bridges; seriously inconvenient, as one would suppose, to the inhabitants. To complete the dulness of this region, the post road, which formerly passed along the lake, now turns from Shoreham into the interior. The travelling, therefore, has chiefly left this tract; and a stranger has become almost a curiosity.

“At Crown Point, the aspect of the lake changes in an instant. The water loses its foul appearance, becoming pleasant to the eye, and sweet and salubrious. Here, also, it extends suddenly to the breadth of four or five miles, and assumes an aspect of magnificence. Against Ferrisburgh, it expands suddenly again to the breadth of ten or twelve miles, and continues to grow wider as far as Burlington. After this, it holds its breadth, generally, until near the forty-fifth degree of latitude. Its depth from Crown Point northward, is great; but I know not that it has been accurately measured.

“Crown Point, notwithstanding the fine prospects which it commands, is a gloomy, melancholy spot. The houses are almost mere hovels; and the few beggared inhabitants appear like outcasts from human society. Rags and tattered garments, washed and hung out to dry, strongly indicated their miserable circumstances. Not a cheerful object met the eye. A great part of the surface was overspread with ruined fortresses, the relics of war and destruction, and the monuments of perfidy, ambition, and cruelty.\* The

These forts were chiefly erected by the Canadian French, within the acknowledged limits of the British territory, in pursuance of the plan they had formed to exterminate the English



opposite shore is wild and dreary. A forest consisting chiefly of pines burned and blasted, spreads beyond the sight. A decayed and dismal house on Chimney Point, was the only human habitation in view upon that shore. Beyond the forest, rose the Green Mountains in lofty piles of grandeur, inspiring emotions remote from cheerfulness, and, in such a scene, harmonizing only with melancholy solemnity. On the west, a chain of hills, unusually rugged and inhospitable, ascends immediately from the lake; forbidding, except in now and then a solitary spot, the settlement of man. From their wild and shaggy recesses, the

colonists. "In the secret chambers of this very fort (French Fort)," says Dr. Dwight, "dug, as became such designs, beneath the ground,—copies of the vaults of abbeys and castles in their native country,—caverns to which treachery and murder slunk from the eye of day,—those plots were contrived, which were to terminate in the destruction of families and villages throughout New York and New England. By the inhabitants of these countries, the wretches who contrived them had never been injured, even in thought. Peaceable in their lives, and satisfied with the produce of their own honest industry, they asked nothing more than to eat their bread in quiet, and to enjoy without intrusion the blessings given them by their Creator. Here, the price was fixed which was to be paid for the scalps of these unoffending people. Here, the scout was formed, the path of murder marked out, the future butchery realized in anticipation. Here, cruelty presided at the council, and in cold blood feasted on the shrieks, the groans, the gasps, and the agonies of suffering parents and their slaughtered offspring. Here was kindled the fire which ere long blazed to heaven, and consumed the houses, the happiness, and the hopes of thousands, fairly numbered among the best inhabitants of the globe. Here, worst of all, were displayed long rows of scalps; white in one place with the venerable locks of age, and glistening in another with the ringlets of childhood and of youth; received and surveyed with smiles of self-gratulation, and rewarded with the promised and ungrudged boon. Such were some of the thoughts which instinctively crowded into my mind at the sight of the subterranean chambers which are now the ruins of this infamous fortress."



traveller is warned to expect the approach of the wolf and the bear ; and from these rugged cliffs, projecting to the water's edge, the boatman is taught to look for shipwreck and destruction. The property of this peninsula is in Columbia College. Whether the pecuniary profits of the Point will ever reach the College, I doubt ; and it also appears doubtful, whether the literature of the College will ever reach the Point.

“ The waters of Lake Champlain are supposed by the inhabitants to have been formerly much higher than at present. This opinion is probably just ; and may, I suspect, be applied to every such piece of water, whose outlet does not flow over level ground, or is not confined by a mound of granite, or some other stone of similar hardness.....The shores of this lake are generally subject to the fever and ague, and to bilious remittents. In the northern division, the country is fine, the climate superior, the lake noble, and the scenery in a high degree magnificent.” \*

Lieutenant Hall, who travelled from Albany to Canada in the month of March, has given a description of the country under its wintry aspect. At Pittstown, nineteen miles from Albany, the road leaves the course of the Hudson, and running N.E., traverses the chains of hills which spring laterally from the great north-eastern chain of the West Point mountains. Salem, twenty-nine miles further, is beautifully embosomed amid these ramifications, which seem to divide the low country into a number of separate basins, each watered by its own sequestered stream. Masses of slaty rock are everywhere scattered through the country. On approaching Granville, situated in one of these mountain basins, a few miles from the

\* Dwight, vol. ii. pp. 430—433.



foot of the Green and Bald Mountains, which form a continuation of the chain, the streams are found no longer to flow towards the Hudson, but have a northerly course to Lake Champlain. Quitting the main north road at Granville, our Traveller proceeded to Whitehall (formerly called Skenesborough), to take the benefit of sleighs in crossing the lake. "The valley closes in as you approach Whitehall, until its lofty barriers barely leave space sufficient for the site of the village, and the course of a small river, called Wood-creek, which rushes into the lake with a small cascade: its right bank rises perpendicularly several hundred feet. Strata of dark grey limestone, disposed at regular parallels, exhibit an appearance of masonry, so perfect as to require a second glance to convince you that a wall is not built up from the bed of the stream. The heights on the opposite side of the valley are equally bold, and marked with the same character; their summits are everywhere darkened with forests of oak, pine, and cedar. Large detached masses of granite are scattered generally through the valley, and among the houses of the village, which, like several others on our road, very much resembled a large timber-yard, from the quantity of wood cutting up and scattered about for purposes of building. Indeed, it is impossible to travel through the States, without taking part with the unfortunate trees, which, unable, like their persecuted fellows of the soil, the Indians, to make good a retreat, are exposed to every form and species of destruction which Yankey convenience or dexterity can invent: felling, burning, rooting up, tearing down, lopping, and chopping, are all employed with most unrelenting severity.

"At Whitehall, we embarked in sleighs on Lake



Champlain. The afternoon was bright and mild, and well disposed us to enjoy the pleasing change from our snail-paced waggon to the smooth rapidity of a sleigh, gliding at the rate of nine miles an hour. The first object our driver was happy to point out to us, was several of our own flotilla anchored near the town, sad 'trophies of the fight.' The head of the lake, called 'the Narrows,' does not exceed the breadth of a small river; the sides rise in lofty cliffs, whose grey strata sometimes assume the regular direction of the mason's level, sometimes form an angle more or less acute with the horizon, and sometimes, particularly in projecting points, seem almost vertical to it. At Shoreham, nearly opposite to Crown Point, we found good accommodation for the night at Mr. Larenburg's tavern, and set off the next morning before breakfast; but we had soon cause to repent of thus committing ourselves fasting to the mercy of the elements. The lake now began to widen, and the shores to sink in proportion; the keen blasts of the north, sweeping over its frozen expanse, pierced us with needles of ice. The thermometer was 22° below zero. Buffalo-hides, bear-skins, caps, shawls, and handkerchiefs were vainly employed against a degree of cold so much beyond our habits. Our guide alone, of the party, his chin and eye-lashes gemmed and powdered with the drifting snow, boldly set his face and horses in the teeth of the storm. Sometimes, a crack in the ice would compel us to wait, while he went forward to explore it with his axe, (without which the American sleigh-drivers seldom travel,) when, having ascertained its breadth and the foot-hold on either side, he would drive his horses at speed, and clear the fissure with its snow ridge, at a flying leap; a sensation we found agree-



able enough, but not so agreeable as a good inn and dinner at Burlington.

“ Burlington is a beautiful little town, rising from the edge of the lake ; the principal buildings are disposed in a neat square. On a hill above the town stands the college, a plain brick building, the greater part of which is unoccupied, and seemingly unfinished. We crossed the next morning to Plattsburg, curious to view the theatre of our misfortunes.\* It is a flourishing little town, situated principally on the left bank of the Saranac, a little river which, falling into the lake, makes, with an adjacent island and Cumberland Point, a convenient bay, across which the American flotilla lay anchored, to receive our attack ; the untoward issue of which decided the retreat of Sir George Prevost's army.

“ I observed that the shores of the lake gradually sunk down to the level of the water, while the mountain ridges fell off to the right and left, leaving a broad and nearly level expanse of wood and ice. Traces of cultivation diminished as we approached the frontier. A few solitary houses, commonly the resort of smugglers, were scattered on the shore, embosomed in forests of a most uninviting aspect. Between Champlain and Isle-aux-Noix, travellers take leave of America, and enter on the Canadian territory.”†

Having conducted the reader to the frontier in this direction, we must now return to Albany, whence the road leads off westward to the Great Lakes and the famed Falls of Niagara.

\* See page 182 of this volume.

† Hall's Canada, pp. 33—40.



## FROM ALBANY TO NIAGARA.

THE first stage from Albany on the western road, is to Shenectady, sixteen miles. Captain Basil Hall took a circuitous route which doubled the distance, in order to see the junction of the Erie Canal with the branch which connects it with Lake Champlain. "Near the village called Juncta," he says, "we had an opportunity of examining a string of nine locks, by which the canal is raised to the level of the country to the westward of Albany. Crowds of boats laden with flour, grain, and other produce, were met by others as deeply laden with commodities from all parts of the world, ready to be distributed over the western countries. On the way to this place, our Traveller "looked in at one of the State arsenals at Watervliet," where he saw about 50,000 stand of arms in good order,—“a bristling mass of dormant strength ready to be called into action for the purposes of national defence.”

Shenectady, which is situated on the Mohawk, still retains the antiquated appearance of a Dutch town. It is governed by a mayor and corporation. Its chief claim to notice arises from the proximity of Union College, which, under the able administration of President Nott, has attained high respectability. Here, Captain Basil Hall embarked in the canal packet, and proceeded a day's *towing* to Caughnawaga.\* The canal winds along the base of a low and prettily wooded bank on the southern side of the Mohawk. "Our perpendicular height above the stream," says this Traveller, "may have been thirty or forty feet,

\* The road crosses the Mohawk by a roofed wooden bridge, 1000 feet in length, and then skirts, for a considerable distance, the northern bank of the river.



by which elevation we commanded a range of prospect, both up and down, of great extent and variety. The Mohawk is studded with many islands and long, projecting, flat, wooded points, lying in the tortuous reaches or bendings of the stream. The vigour of the spring tints had not yet yielded to the withering effects of the fierce summer. Be the cause what it may, I cannot conceive a more beautiful combination of verdure ; and as the windings of the canal brought us in sight of fresh vistas, new cultivation, new villages, new bridges, new aqueducts, rose at every moment, mingled up with scattered dwellings, mills, churches, all span new. The scene looked really one of enchantment." At Caughnawaga,\* our Traveller left the canal, and started in an "extra stage" for Utica, a town that has recently sprung up upon the great western canal.† Although not long ago a village of log-huts, it has already several church spires rising over it ; and at no great distance, an academical institution has been founded, called Hamilton College. Not far from Utica are the Trenton Falls on the Mohawk, which Captain Basil Hall pronounces to be "well worth seeing." The western road now traverses a country recently cleared and

\* Between Caughnawaga and Utica, is a village which takes its name from the "Little Falls" of the Mohawk. At these Falls, "the river passes through a wild, mountainous ravine, now rushing over shelving falls, now whirling and foaming round a projecting point or detached masses of rock ; on both sides, the banks are rocky and precipitous, and a few dwarfish trees start from among the crevices. If it were not for the waggon in which you travel, you could almost suppose yourself in the neighbourhood of the Trossachs."—Duncan, vol. II. p. 25.

† In 1799, Utica consisted of 50 houses, most of them small and temporary buildings. In 1804, the number was 120. It is now a handsome town, carrying on a greater trade than any place in the State, except New York, Albany, and Troy.



improved, to Syracuse, another thriving place, through the very centre of which the Erie Canal passes. "During this drive," says our Traveller, "we had opportunities of seeing the land in various stages of its progress, from the dense, black, tangled, native forests, up to the highest state of cultivation, with wheat and barley waving over it; or from that melancholy and very hopeless-looking state of things, when the trees are laid prostrate upon the earth, one on the top of another, and a miserable log-hut is the only symptom of man's residence,—to such gay and thriving places as Syracuse; with fine, broad streets, large and commodious houses, gay shops, and stage-coaches, waggons, and gigs flying past, all in a bustle. In the centre of the village, we could see from our windows, the canal thickly covered with freight-boats and packets, glancing silently past, and shooting like arrows through the bridges, some of which were of stone, and some of painted wood. The canal at this place has been made of double its ordinary width, and being bent into an agreeable curvature, to suit the turn of the streets, the formality is removed, as well as the ditch-like appearance which generally belongs to canals. The water, also, is made to rise almost level with the towing-path, which improves the effect. I was amused by seeing among the throng of loaded boats, a gayly-painted vessel lying in state, with the words 'Cleopatra's Barge' painted in large characters on her broadside.

"In the course of fifty miles' travelling, we came repeatedly in sight of almost every successive period of agricultural advancement through which America has run, or is actually running. At one place, we found ourselves among the Oneyda tribe of Indians, living on a strip of land called a reservation, from being ap-



propriated exclusively to those poor remains of the former absolute masters of the territory, the native burghers of the forest ! They were dressed in blankets, with leggings of skin, laced not very tightly, and reaching to the hide mocassins on their feet. Their painted faces and lank, black, oily hair, made them look as like savages as any lion-hunting travellers could have desired.

“ In merely passing along the road, it was of course difficult to form any conjecture as to how much of the country was cleared ; especially as new settlers naturally cling to canals, roads, and lakes, and such only were the settlers that we saw. Sometimes, our track lay through a thick forest for a mile or two ; though, generally speaking, the country for some distance on both sides of the road, was thickly strewn with houses. Every now and then we came to villages, consisting of several hundred houses ; and in the middle, I observed, there were always several churches surmounted with spires, painted with some showy colour, and giving a certain degree of liveliness or finish to scenes in other respects rude enough. In general, however, it must be owned, there prevailed a most uncomfortable appearance of bleakness or rawness, and a total absence of picturesque beauty in these villages ; whose dreary aspect was much heightened by the black sort of gigantic wall formed of the abrupt edge of the forest, choked up with underwood, now for the first time exposed to the light of the sun.

“ The cleared spaces, however, as they are called, looked to our eyes not less desolate, being studded over with innumerable great black stumps ; or, more deplorable still, with tall, scorched, branchless stems of trees, which had undergone the barbarous operation known by the name of girdling. An American settler



can hardly conceive the horror with which a foreigner beholds such numbers of magnificent trees standing round him with their throats cut,—the very Banquos of the murdered forest! The process of girdling is this: a circular cut or ring, two or three inches deep, is made with an axe, quite round the tree, at about five feet from the ground. This, of course, puts an end to vegetable life; and the destruction of the tree being accelerated by the action of fire, these wretched trunks in a year or two present the most miserable objects of decrepitude that can be conceived. But the purpose of the farmer is gained, and that is all he can be expected to look to. His corn crop is no longer overshadowed by the leaves of these unhappy trees, which, in process of time, are cut down, and split into railings, or sawed into billets of firewood,—and their misery is at an end. Even in the cultivated fields, the tops of the stumps were seen poking their black snouts above the young grain, like a shoal of seals. Not a single hedge or wall was to be seen in these places, all the inclosures being made of split logs, built one upon the top of another, in a zig-zag fashion, like what ladies call a Vandyke border. These are termed snake-fences, and are certainly the most ungraceful-looking things I ever saw.

“Most of the houses are built of rough, unbarked logs, nicked at the ends, so as to fit closely and firmly, and roofed with planks. The better sort of dwellings are made of squared timbers, framed together neatly enough, and boarded over at the sides and ends, and then roofed with shingles, which are a sort of oblong slates. The houses are generally left unpainted, and being scattered about without order, look more like a collection of great packing-boxes, than the human residences which the eye is accustomed to see in old



countries. In the more cleared and longer settled parts of the country, we saw many detached houses, which might almost be called villas, very neatly got up, with rows of wooden columns in front, shaded by trees and tall shrubs running round and across the garden, which was prettily fenced in, and embellished with a profusion of flowers. Sometimes a whole village, such as that of Whitesborough, was composed entirely of these detached villas ; and as most of the houses were half-hidden in the thick foliage of the elm-trees round them, they looked cool and comfortable, when compared with the new and half-burned, and in many places still burning country, only a few miles off." \*

Syracuse,† in the year 1820, consisted of one house, one mill, and one tavern. In 1827, it contained 1500 inhabitants, with two large churches ; innumerable shops, filled with goods brought there by water-carriage from every corner of the globe ; two large and splendid hotels ; many dozens of grocery-stores or whisky-shops ; several busy printing-presses, from one of which issues a weekly newspaper ; and a daily post from the east, the south, and the west. In the neighbourhood are the salt-works of Salina, which yield about 500,000 bushels of salt annually. The road then runs to Skeneateles, at the upper end of a lake of the same name ; and thence to Auburn, not " the loveliest village of the plain," but a flourishing place, and celebrated for its State Penitentiary,—“ the

\* Basil Hall, vol. i. pp. 126—131.

† The incongruous mixture of classic names, unmeaningly applied to some of the villages on this route, in alternation with modern appellations, English, Dutch, and Indian, has, to a stranger, a very absurd effect. The following places occur in succession,—Utica, Chittinengo, Manlius, Onondago, Syracuse, Skeneateles, Elbridge, Brutus, Auburn, Camillus, Cayuga, Waterloo !



parent experiment of that system which has done America so much honour." A theological academy has also been established here. The next stage is to Cayuga, on the western bank of the still and beautiful lake of that name, which is here crossed by a wooden bridge, resting on loose stone piers, 1850 paces in length. A few miles further, the flourishing settlement of Waterloo has sprung up on the bank of a creek communicating between the Cayuga and Seneca lakes ; the situation is very beautiful. A wearisome swamp extends from this place to Seneca lake, (so named from an Indian nation nearly extinct,) and a yet more wearisome "log causey" affords the means of crossing it. At the further end is the village of Geneva. Another stage of sixteen miles leads to Canandaigua, situated at the end of an extremely pretty lake, not so large as the last two, but still an extensive piece of water. Canandaigua is a very pretty village, nearly in the centre of Ontario county : it contains three churches, one of them belonging to the Episcopalians. The dwellings have more the appearance of detached country-houses, than of streets ; and there are some showy hotels.\* Twenty-four miles further is Avon, upon the bank of the Genesee river. Captain Basil Hall, instead of proceeding direct to this place, drove across the country to the village of Rochester, which is built on the banks of that river, just above some beautiful waterfalls, and only a few miles from

\* At a place called Bristol, near Canandaigua, there is an inflammable spring. On applying a lighted candle, "in a few minutes," says Captain B. Hall, "we had a row of natural gas-lights, blazing in a style worthy of Pall Mall, for many yards along the banks of a pretty little valley ; in the middle of which, a clear stream of water was leaping merrily down to the plains below, over a series of steps or slabs formed by the horizontal strata of limestone covering all that part of the country."



the southern shore of Lake Ontario, which is concealed, however, by a dense screen of untouched forest. The Erie Canal passes through the heart of this singular village, and "strides across the Genesee river on a noble aqueduct of stone."

Rochester, Captain Basil Hall says, is celebrated all over the Union, as one of the most striking instances of rapid increase in size and population of which even this country affords an example. In 1815, its population consisted of 331 souls. These had increased, in 1818, to 1049; in 1820, to 1502; in 1822, to 2700; in February, 1825, to 4274; in August of the same year, to 5273; and in 1827, to upwards of 8000.\* The cause of this rapid influx is of course the Erie Canal, this village having become the emporium of the rich agricultural districts upon the Genesee river. The

\* The following table, shewing the number of persons engaged in some of the principal occupations in 1826, affords a curious insight into the composition of American society in a settlement twelve years old:—

Clergymen (1 to 1100) ..	7	Wheel-wrights .....	24
Physicians (1 to 307) ..	25	Carpenters .....	304
Lawyers (1 to 275) .....	28	Masons .....	95
Merchants .....	74	Coopers .....	73
Clerks .....	89	Blacksmiths .....	67
Printers .....	31	Gunsmiths .....	14
Innkeepers .....	16	Tinsmiths .....	23
Bakers .....	14	Coachmakers .....	17
Butchers .....	33	Chairmakers .....	10
Grocers .....	84	Cabinetmakers .....	23
Tallow-chandlers .....	8	Tanners .....	20
Tailors .....	48	Comb-makers .....	5
Shoemakers .....	184	Painters .....	26
Hatters .....	20	Goldsmiths .....	16
Clothiers .....	23	Saddlers .....	21
Millers .....	20	Labourers .....	423
Mill-wrights .....	21		

Four political and one religious newspaper were issued from the presses of this town, and one Christian Monthly Magazine.



population is composed chiefly of emigrants from New England, with a few from other parts of the Union, a considerable number of German, English, Scotch, and Irish settlers, and a few natives of Canada, Norway, and Switzerland; making up a very singular and motley society. "Every thing in this bustling place," says Captain Basil Hall, "appeared to be in motion. The very streets seemed to be starting up of their own accord, ready-made, and looking as fresh and new as if they had been turned out of the workmen's hands but an hour before,—or that a great box-full of new houses had been sent by steam from New York, and tumbled out on the half-cleared land. The canal-banks were at some places still unturfed; the lime seemed hardly dry in the masonry of the aqueduct, in the bridges, and in the numberless great saw-mills and manufactories. In many of these buildings, the people were at work below stairs, while at top, the carpenters were busy nailing on the planks of the roof. Some dwellings were half painted, while the foundations of others, within five yards' distance, were only beginning. I cannot say how many churches, court-houses, jails, and hotels I counted, all in motion, creeping upwards. Several streets were nearly finished, but had not as yet received their names; and many others were in the reverse predicament, being named, but not commenced,—their local habitation being merely signified by lines of stakes. Here and there, we saw great warehouses, without window-sashes, but half filled with goods, and furnished with hoisting cranes, ready to fish up the huge pyramids of flour-barrels, bales, and boxes lying in the streets. In the centre of the town, the spire of a Presbyterian church rose to a great height, and on each side of the supporting tower was to be seen the dial-plate of a clock,



of which the machinery, in the hurry-skurry, had been left at New York. I need not say, that these half-finished, whole-finished, and embryo streets were crowded with people, carts, stages, cattle, pigs, far beyond the reach of numbers ;—and as all these were lifting up their voices together, in keeping with the clatter of hammers, the ringing of axes, and the creaking of machinery, there was a fine concert.”

On leaving this place, Captain Hall travelled about 30 miles on “ the Ridge Road,” which runs along the summit of a gently sloping bank of sand and gravel, supposed to have formed, at some remote era, the beach of Lake Ontario, to the southern margin of which it is nearly parallel, but a hundred feet higher in level, and at a distance of eight or ten miles. The intervening tract is a moderately inclined flat belt of country, above the general level of which, this “ old beach ” rises to the height of 15 or 20 feet. The slope of the southern side of the ridge is much steeper than that which faces the lake, resembling in that respect the natural embankments on sea-coasts or the shores of lakes, thrown up by the combined action of wind and water.\* The direct road from Avon runs to Batavia, a small, straggling village ; and thence, a stage of 40 miles to Buffalo, a busy, thriving town, beautifully situated at the lower extremity of Lake Erie, near the mouth of a small creek which forms the termination of the Great Canal. At Black Rock, two miles below Buffalo, a ferry-boat conveys the Traveller to the Canadian shore, a few miles above

\* “ On the island of Michillimackinac, there are the most decisive proofs, that the waters of Huron and Michigan are several feet lower than they once were. Proofs equally decisive are presented on its southern borders, of a similar subsidence in Lake Erie.”—Dwight, vol. iv. p. 68. See also, for a similar remark respecting Lake Champlain, page 254 of this volume.



## THE FALLS OF NIAGARA.

THE accounts given of these celebrated Falls by different travellers, vary so remarkably, both as to the first impressions which they produce, and as to the more prominent features of the scene, that any attempt to combine their reports in a general description, would be impracticable. We shall therefore select three distinct descriptions, adding such further particulars as we may be able to gather from other sources. Captain Basil Hall tells us, that the Falls "infinitely exceeded" his anticipations; and he cites the reply of a gentleman who, on his return from the Niagara, was appealed to by a party, whether he thought they would be disappointed—"Why no, unless you expect to witness the sea coming down from the moon." Mr. Duncan, on the other hand, says, that the impression produced on his mind by the first view of the Falls, was decidedly that of disappointment; which he believes to be a very common feeling when strangers visit them for the first time; but those who visit them the oftenest, admire and wonder at them the most. This Traveller visited them twice, and we shall first give his distinct and well-written description of the scene.

"It was on a beautiful morning that I last left Buffalo. The sky was clear, and the air perfectly serene. Not a single cloud was seen upon the broad expanse, except in the north-west, on the very verge of the horizon, where two little fleecy specks appeared and disappeared at intervals; sometimes rising separately, and sometimes mingling their vapours. These were clouds of spray rising above the Falls; perfectly conspicuous to the naked eye at a distance of twenty miles.\*

\* "Weld says, that he saw the clouds of spray from the Falls



“ Passing along the bank, you soon reach Grand Island, embraced in the forking of the river. Each arm of the stream is more than a mile in width. The western channel is the boundary between the British and American possessions ; and this island, nearly seven miles long, and containing between 20,000 and 30,000 acres, is, of course, left within the territory of New York. It is of an irregular lozenge shape, and as yet thickly covered with pines and cedars.

“ Passing Grand Island, and Navy Island, a smaller one which succeeds it, the stream becomes about two miles and a half wide, and you reach Chippawa creek, village, and fort, between two and three miles above the Falls. Here terminates the navigation of the upper part of the Niagara ; for the rapidity of the stream soon increases so considerably, that vessels cannot with safety venture further. The change becomes very soon obvious on the surface of the water. Neither waves, however, nor any violent agitation is visible for some time ; you see only

“ The torrent's smoothness ere it dash below.’

Dimples and indented lines, with here and there a little eddying whirl, run along near the shore ; betokening at once the depth of the channel, the vast body of water, and the accelerated impetus with which it hurries along. Every straw also that floats past, though motionless upon the bosom of the river, and undisturbed by a single ripple, is the index of an irresistible influence, which sweeps to one common issue all within its grasp.

“ Goat Island, the lowest of all, now appears inserted like a wedge in the centre of the stream. By it

while sailing on Lake Erie, at a distance of fifty-four miles. From the appearance which they presented at a distance of twenty miles, I am inclined to think this is not at all improbable.”



the river is divided into two currents, which issue in the two great falls ; and the nearer channel shelves down into a steep and rocky declivity, over which an extensive rapid foams and rushes with prodigious fury. Before reaching the island, the traveller remarks at a distance the agitated billows, then the white-crested breakers, and at length he has a full view of the rapid, nearly a mile in length, the immediate and most appropriate prelude to the great Fall.

“ Nearly opposite the middle of Goat Island, the channel of the rapid suddenly widens, encroaching with a considerable curvature upon the bank, as if a portion of the water sought to shun, by a circuitous route, its inevitable destiny. In this little bay, if it may be so called, are a number of islets covered with wood, and to all appearance securely anchored amid the brawling torrent ; but, before approaching them, you discover with surprise, that the daring foot of man has ventured to descend the steep bank, to erect a cluster of mills, which dip their water-wheels into the impetuous rapid. Immediately below, the shore bends to the right, contracting the channel, and throwing back the reluctant water which had left the main current ; and immediately the whole is engulfed in the Great Horse-shoe Fall, which, like an immense cauldron, sends up to the sky a stupendous column of smoke and spray.

“ A few minutes’ ride now gives you the first view of the Falls. The road winds along pretty close by the bank of the stream, till past the centre of the great rapid, where the channel makes the returning bend to the right. The road does not follow this bend, but, going very nearly straight forward, recedes of course very considerably from the bank. The level of the road is by this time greatly higher than the surface of



the river, which begins gradually to descend near Chippawa, and sinks about fifty feet in perpendicular height, between the commencement of the rapid and its termination. As the distance increases a little between the road and the bank, the vast concave of the Falls of Niagara begins to open upon your view, inclining towards the road at an angle of about forty-five degrees. First you see the American fall, the further extremity of the semi-circle, breaking in a broad white sheet of foam upon a heap of rocks below. Close by its inner extremity is a gush of water which in any other situation would be esteemed a considerable cascade, but here seems but a fragment of the larger cataract, separated by a small island or rock in the bed of the river. The eye then rests upon the precipitous end of Goat Island, consisting of accumulated masses of stone, in horizontal strata, supporting a scanty covering of earth, and crowded to the edge with pines. Last of all, about a third part of the concave of the British fall rounds into prospect; the remainder is concealed by the bend and the elevation of the intervening bank. From the interior of this vast semi-circle, the spray is volumed upwards in prodigious masses, which conceal at intervals various portions of the scenery; and the deep, hollow thunder of the cataracts is mingled with the roar of the long and angry rapid.

“ In my first visit, I was quite alone, and piloted my way from the tavern to the edge of the precipitous bank, by the directions which I received from the landlord. Crossing a field or two, which slope from the road towards the river, a little below the Falls, I reached a small distillery, past which a kind of foot-path conducts to the edge of the bank. The ground is marshy for a considerable space up and down, with



a good deal of brushwood scattered about ; but part of it had been cut away from the brow of the precipice, to afford a view of the Falls.

“ I looked cautiously over the brink. The water was foaming past, about 160 feet below me. Beyond it rose the bank on the American side, precipitous and rocky ; and away to the right, the immense basin into which the waters were thundering, and from which the columns of spray were towering up in misty grandeur.

“ The falls made a more powerful impression on my mind, when they opened to view for the second time, on the road from Chippawa. The American fall appeared broader, deeper, much more imposing, than when I first saw it. The craggy end of Goat Island seemed more precipitous and grand ; a bald eagle was perched upon its very edge, close by the side of the British fall, and waved its pinions in safety over the profound abyss. The curve of the British fall next circled in ; and the recollection of how much was still hidden from view, powerfully aided the combined effect.

“ After an early dinner, the party with whom I came, set out for a nearer view. During the summer, the American newspapers had announced that the whole of the Table Rock had given way, and been precipitated into the channel of the river ; I was therefore eager to ascertain the extent of the mischief. We got over the rail fences of two fields, and passing the distillery to which I have already alluded, reached the edge of the precipice. On looking to the right, I at once remarked the great change which had taken place. From within a few feet of where I stood, the bank which had formerly run forward nearly in a straight line towards the Table Rock, now presented



a great concavity. The foot-path along which I had formerly walked, and the bushes behind which I had stood, had all disappeared :—the rock upon whose deceitful support they rested, had suddenly given way, from top to bottom ; and a mass, as we were informed, about 160 feet in length, and from 30 to 40 in breadth, upon which I had formerly imagined myself in security, now lay shattered into ten thousand fragments at the bottom of the precipice. I cannot describe my emotions in contemplating the scene before me. I had trodden where the foot of man will never tread again ; I had stood and walked, where nothing but the invisible atmosphere is now incumbent.

“ The final disruption of this mass took place about midnight in the month of July or August. The landlord of the tavern had walked over it the preceding afternoon, with two ladies and a gentleman : they returned the following day, to view the frightful chasm, and one of the ladies shed tears at the spectacle.

“ A new path, winding considerably backward from the brow of the cliff, has been cut through the brushwood with which the marsh abounds, and a line of planks conducts the traveller to the Table Rock. The rent extended to within a few yards of this celebrated spot, but no part of it gave way : how long it may be ere it does so, none can say.

“ The top of the Table Rock forms a circular platform of considerable area, on the same level, and in immediate contact, with the western extremity of the British fall. It extends backward for several yards ; and I put the point of my shoe into the water, with perfect safety, immediately before it was precipitated from the cliff. In front, the rock projects some feet beyond the line of the fall, and of the inferior mass of



rocks upon which it is supported. It requires not a little nerve to approach the edge ; but the landlord told us, that he has seen people sitting with their feet hanging over it, coolly engaged in sketching a view of the Falls. It was not without considerable timidity that I crept near enough to look over, close by the brink of the water ; but the sight of the gulf below repays the effort, and indeed is one that can never be forgotten. The water breaks into spray at the very top, and sends up a steam from the inexorable abyss, which shrouds all below in most terrific obscurity. A portion of the vapour rises between the descending water and the rock, and comes whirling out in the most violent agitation ; and the deep, hollow sound of the cataract, reverberating from the rocky caverns, completes the elements of sublimity with which the scene is charged.

“ Leaving the Table Rock, we returned by the winding foot-path, and, a short way below the road from the distillery, we reached the ladder which conducts to the bed of the river. I had imagined that there must be a good deal of danger connected with descending, but, on the contrary, it is perfectly safe. The top of the ladder is secured between the stumps of two trees, against the side of a deep gash in the rock, and slopes down along the face of the precipice, the lower end resting upon a large accumulation of soil and rock, which has formerly fallen from above.

“ There is some difficulty, however, in getting forward, after having arrived at the foot of the ladder. The path lies to the right along a sloping bank of earth and stones, alternately rising and falling, though ultimately descending as you approach the Falls. The foot-way is so narrow that it admits of no more than one abreast ; it is besides wet and slippery throughout, and in many places encumbered with fragments of



rock. To look up, is frightful ; in some places, the higher stratum of rock overhangs the rest most threateningly, and the fissures are so numerous, that the whole fabric of the bank seems to be held together by a most precarious cohesion. Your progress is also impeded by the thick rain which is every where descending ; sometimes filtering through the seams of the rock, sometimes falling in heavy drops from its edge, as from the eaves of a house, and, in two or three places, spouting upon you in a continued stream. This water proceeds from the marsh above, and, by gradually washing out the earth, was doubtless the cause of the bank's giving way last summer.

“ With considerable exertion, and not without being completely drenched, we made our way to the fragments of the large portion which fell. The separation had taken place from top to bottom, in a straight line, leaving the new surface which was disclosed, perfectly smooth and perpendicular. A deep rent is quite evident behind that part which supports the Table Rock, and in all probability, some future traveller will have to record its fall. It was not till now that we could form any adequate idea of the prodigious extent of the ruin. Large masses lay hurled across the declivity, and piled one upon another, so as to render walking both difficult and dangerous. Some large pieces seemed so nicely poised upon each other, that a slight touch would have upset them, and communicated motion to all that were near.

“ Desirous of getting to the bottom of the Great Fall, I made my way about half way over the scattered masses ; but when I felt some of them rocking under me, and saw that no one of the party ventured to follow, I thought prudence required that I should turn. Before facing about, however, I broke from the edge



of a large block of limestone, a piece of portable dimensions, which was penetrated by veins of white crystals, and contained in a cleft at one end of it, a fine groupe very regularly formed.

“ I now stood and surveyed the wondrous scene before me, mentally comparing the view of the Falls from below, with that which I had enjoyed from the Table Rock. Of the magnitude and force of the descending torrents, we have here a much more impressive conception ; for, as we see no part of the rapids above, and indeed nothing of the flood till it has begun its descent from the cliff, the mind is occupied almost entirely with the height, and width, and grandeur of the two enormous cascades. We look up in amazement at the unintermitted pouring of so vast an accumulation of waters ; and were this the only view which could be obtained, it would seem an inscrutable mystery, from what source so immeasurable a volume of fresh water could be constantly poured forth.

“ The noise of the Falls is of course greatly increased below ; indeed, it thunders in the ear most overpoweringly. I use the term *thunders*, for want of a more appropriate one, but it by no means conveys any adequate idea of the awfully deep and unvarying sound.

“ To heighten the splendour of the scene, a magnificent rainbow, pencilled on the clouds of spray, and perfectly unbroken from end to end, over-arched the space between the one bank and the other, at the widest part. This, in so entire a state, is rather a rare occurrence ; for, though the prismatic colours are always visible during sunshine, floating in little fragments here and there, they only unite into a regular bow in particular positions of the sun, and never complete the semi-circular curve but when the air, as hap-



pened on this occasion, is perfectly calm. I was peculiarly fortunate in the period of this visit.

“ It is now not unusual to cross in a boat, a short way below the Falls, to the American shore, and there enjoy a considerable variety of prospect.\*

“ A beautiful moonlight evening succeeded, and so favourable an opportunity of another view was not to be neglected. I did not venture, at so late an hour, to thread the mazes of the path to the Table Rock, but repaired to a sloping bank at the bottom of a field immediately above it. The moon's rays fell directly upon the American cascade, leaving the greater part of the other fall in deep shadow. The spray appeared to rise in greatly increased volumes, and the dim light mingling with its haze, and accompanied by a perceptible increase in the sound of the cataracts, imparted to the whole a peculiar sublimity, which was wanting in daylight.” †

The next Traveller of whose description we shall avail ourselves, is Mr. Howison, whose visit to the Falls appears to have been more recent than that of Mr. Duncan.

“ Three extensive views of the Falls may be obtained from three different places. In general, the first opportunity travellers have of seeing the cataract, is from the high-road, which, at one point, lies near the bank of the river. This place, however, being considerably above the level of the Falls, and a good way beyond them, affords a view that is comparatively imperfect and unimposing.

“ The Table Rock, from which the Falls of Niagara

\* This was before Judge Porter had, by “ a wonderful effort of boldness and skill,” succeeded in throwing a wooden bridge across from the main-land to Goat Island, a short way above the Falls.

† Duncan, vol. ii. pp. 33—47.



may be contemplated in all their grandeur, lies on an exact level with the edge of the cataract on the Canada side, and indeed forms a part of the precipice over which the water gushes. It derives its name from the circumstance of its projecting beyond the cliffs that support it like the leaf of a table. To gain this position, it is necessary to descend a steep bank, and to follow a path that winds among shrubbery and trees, which entirely conceal from the eye the scene that awaits him who traverses it. When near the termination of this road, a few steps carried me beyond all these obstructions, and a magnificent amphitheatre of cataracts burst upon my view with appalling suddenness and majesty. However, in a moment, the scene was concealed from my eyes by a dense cloud of spray, which involved me so completely, that I did not dare to extricate myself. A mingled rushing and thundering filled my ears. I could see nothing, except when the wind made a chasm in the spray, and then tremendous cataracts seemed to encompass me on every side, while below, a raging and foamy gulf of undiscoverable extent lashed the rocks with its hissing waves, and swallowed under a horrible obscurity, the smoking floods that were precipitated into its bosom.

“ At first the sky was obscured by clouds, but after a few minutes the sun burst forth, and the breeze subsiding at the same time, permitted the spray to ascend perpendicularly. A host of pyramidal clouds rose majestically, one after another, from the abyss at the bottom of the Fall; and each, when it had ascended a little above the edge of the cataract, displayed a beautiful rainbow, which in a few moments was gradually transferred into the bosom of the cloud that immediately succeeded. The spray of the Great Fall had extended itself through a wide space directly over



me, and, receiving the full influence of the sun, exhibited a luminous and magnificent rainbow, which continued to over-arch and irradiate the spot on which I stood, while I enthusiastically contemplated the indescribable scene.

“ Any person, who has nerve enough (as I had), may plunge his hand into the water of the Great Fall after it is projected over the precipice, merely by lying down flat, with his face beyond the edge of the Table Rock, and stretching out his arm to its utmost extent. The experiment is truly a horrible one, and such as I would not wish to repeat ; for, even to this day, I feel a shuddering and recoiling sensation when I recollect having been in the posture above described.

“ The body of water which composes the middle part of the Great Fall, is so immense, that it descends nearly two-thirds of the space without being ruffled or broken ; and the solemn calmness with which it rolls over the edge of the precipice, is finely contrasted with the perturbed appearance it assumes after having reached the gulf below. But the water towards each side of the Fall, is shattered the moment it drops over the rock, and loses as it descends, in a great measure, the character of a fluid, being divided into pyramidal-shaped fragments, the bases of which are turned upwards. The surface of the gulf below the cataract, presents a very singular aspect ; seeming, as it were, filled with an immense quantity of hoar-frost, which is agitated by small and rapid undulations. The particles of water are dazzlingly white, and do not apparently unite together, as might be supposed, but seem to continue for a time in a state of distinct comminution, and to repel each other with a thrilling and shivering motion which cannot easily be described.

“ The noise made by the Horse-shoe Fall, though



very great, is infinitely less than might be expected, and varies in loudness according to the state of the atmosphere. When the weather is clear and frosty, it may be distinctly heard at the distance of ten or twelve miles, but much further when there is a steady breeze: however, I have frequently stood upon the declivity of the high bank that overlooks the Table Rock, and distinguished a low thundering only, which at times was altogether drowned amidst the roaring of the rapids above the cataract.\* In my opinion, the concave shape of the Great Fall explains this circumstance. The noise vibrates from one side of the rocky recess to the other, and a little only escapes from its confinement; and even this is less distinctly heard than it would otherwise be, as the profusion of spray renders the air near the cataract a very indifferent conductor of sound.

“The road to the bottom of the Fall, presents many more difficulties than that which leads to the Table Rock. After leaving the Table Rock, the traveller must proceed down the river nearly half a mile, where he will come to a small chasm in the bank, in which there is a spiral staircase inclosed in a wooden building. By descending this stair, which is 70 or 80 feet perpendicular height, he will find himself under the

\* Mr. Duncan says: “I have been told in the neighbourhood, that, in particular states of the barometer, and especially before stormy weather, the sound of the cataracts is heard twenty miles off, and even further; but, on both occasions, I could with difficulty distinguish it at a distance of two miles; and sometimes, I understand, it does not reach so far.” Dr. Dwight says, that he heard it distinctly when crossing the ferry at the distance of eighteen miles, “the wind blowing from the N.W. almost at right angles with the direction of the sound. Two gentlemen,” he adds, “who had lived some time at York, on the north side of Lake Ontario, informed me, that it was not unfrequently heard there: the distance is fifty miles.”—Dwight, vol. iv. p. 79.



precipice on the top of which he formerly walked. A high but sloping bank extends from its base to the edge of the river ; and on the summit of this, there is a narrow, slippery path, covered with angular fragments of rock, which leads to the Great Fall. The impending cliffs, hung with a profusion of trees and brushwood, over-arch this road, and seem to vibrate with the thunders of the cataract. In some places, they rise abruptly to the height of 100 feet, and display upon their surfaces, fossil shells and the organic remains of a former world ; thus sublimely leading the mind to contemplate the convulsions which nature has undergone since the creation. As the traveller advances, he is frightfully stunned by the appalling noise ; clouds of spray sometimes envelop him, and suddenly check his faltering steps ; rattle-snakes start from the cavities of the rocks, and the scream of eagles, soaring among the whirlwinds of eddying vapour which obscure the gulf of the cataract, at intervals announce that the raging waters have hurled some bewildered animal over the precipice. After scrambling among piles of huge rocks that obstruct his way, the traveller gains the bottom of the Fall, where the soul can be susceptible only of one emotion,—that of uncontrollable terror.

“ It was not until I had, by frequent excursions to the Falls, in some measure familiarized my mind with their sublimities, that I ventured to explore the *pene-tralia* of the Great Cataract. The precipice over which it rolls, is very much arched underneath, while the impetus which the water receives in its descent, projects it far beyond the cliff ; and thus an immense Gothic arch is formed by the rock and the torrent. Twice I entered this cavern, and twice I was obliged to retrace my steps, lest I should be suffocated by the



blast of dense spray that whirled round me ; however, the third time, I succeeded in advancing about 25 yards. Here, darkness began to encircle me ; on one side, the black cliff stretched itself into a gigantic arch far above my head, and on the other, the dense and hissing torrent formed an impenetrable sheet of foam, with which I was drenched in a moment. The rocks were so slippery, that I could hardly keep my feet, or hold securely by them ; while the horrid din made me think the precipices above were tumbling down in colossal fragments upon my head.

“ It is not easy to determine how far an individual might advance between the sheet of water and the rock ; but were it even possible to explore the recess to its utmost extremity, scarcely any one, I believe, would have courage to attempt an expedition of the kind.

“ A little way below the Great Fall, the river is, comparatively speaking, so tranquil, that a ferry-boat plies between the Canadian and American shores, for the convenience of travellers. When I first crossed, the heaving flood tossed about the skiff with a violence that seemed very alarming ; but as soon as we gained the middle of the river, my attention was altogether engaged by the surpassing grandeur of the scene before me. I was now within the area of a semicircle of cataracts, more than 3000 feet in extent, and floated on the surface of a gulf, raging, fathomless, and interminable. Majestic cliffs, splendid rainbows, lofty trees, and columns of spray, were the gorgeous decorations of this theatre of wonders, while a dazzling sun shed refulgent glories upon every part of the scene. Surrounded with clouds of vapour, and stunned into a state of confusion and terror by the hideous noise, I looked upwards to the height of 150 feet, and saw vast



floods, dense, awful, and stupendous, vehemently bursting over the precipice, and rolling down, as if the windows of heaven were opened to pour another deluge upon the earth. Loud sounds, resembling discharges of artillery or volcanic explosions, were now distinguishable amidst the watery tumult, and added terrors to the abyss from which they issued. The sun looking majestically through the ascending spray, was encircled with a radiant halo ; whilst fragments of rainbows floated on every side, and momentarily vanished only to give place to a succession of others more brilliant. Looking backwards, I saw the Niagara river, again become calm and tranquil, rolling magnificently between the towering cliffs that rose on either side, and receiving showers of orient dew-drops from the trees that gracefully over-arched its transparent bosom. A gentle breeze ruffled the waters, and beautiful birds fluttered around, as if to welcome its egress from those clouds and thunders and rainbows, which were the heralds of its precipitation into the abyss of the cataract.

“ The American Fall, which it is quite unnecessary to describe, is higher than the Horse-shoe, its pitch being 164 feet : however, the quantity of water which rolls over, is not nearly so great as in the former. Here, as on the Canada side, there is a wooden staircase, by which the most nervous and timid person may descend to the bottom of the cataract with ease and safety.

“ The Niagara Falls appear to the observer of a magnitude inferior to what they really are, because the objects surrounding do not bear a due proportion to them. The river, cliffs, and trees are on a comparatively small scale, and add little to the composition or grandeur of the scene ; therefore, he who contem-



plates the cataracts, unconsciously reduces them to such dimensions as correspond to those of the contiguous objects ; thus divesting one part of the scene of a good deal of its magnificence, without communicating any additional grandeur to the other.

“ The extent of the Falls has never been correctly ascertained, as, indeed, their peculiar form, and several other circumstances, render this impossible. The height of the Great Fall, as taken with a plumb-line by some engineers from the United States, was found to be 149 feet 9 inches. Its curve is supposed to extend 2100 feet, and the chord of its arc may measure nearly half that space. The breadth of Goat Island, which divides the two cataracts, has been found to be 984 feet, and that of the American fall 1140 feet. Therefore, the whole circumference of the precipice over which the cataracts fall, is 4224 feet, and the width of the cataract itself 3240 feet. At one time, the Table Rock extended 50 feet beyond the cliffs that support it, but its projection is not so great at present.”\*

Captain Basil Hall, who visited the Falls in 1827, reached them from below, which sufficiently accounts for the much stronger impression the first view appears to have made upon his imagination.

“ On our way (from Lockport) to the Falls,” he says, “ we had one view, and that merely a glimpse, of Lake Ontario, through a wide opening in the trees, on the top of a rising ground. That enormous sheet of water, which is 170 miles long, had none of those appearances of a lake, familiar as such to our eyes. I was prepared to expect something like the sea, but was surprised, though I do not know very well why, by discovering it to be so precisely similar to the ocean. It had the same deep blue tint, and possessed all the ap-



pearance of boundless extent. Between the spot where we stood, and the south-western margin of the lake, there lay a belt of flat country, eight or ten miles in width, matted thickly with the untouched forest, and nearly as striking as the grand lake itself. This wooded ground was quite smooth, nearly horizontal, and had, probably, in ancient times formed the bottom of the lake, when the ridge before spoken of was the beach. In casting the eye over this vast extent of forest, not the slightest inequality of surface could be distinguished. The foliage, indeed, appeared to cling to the ground like a rich, mottled sort of dress or carpet.

“ The river Niagara, which flows from Lake Erie into Lake Ontario, is unlike any other river that I know of. It is a full-grown stream at the first moment of its existence, and is no larger at its mouth than at its source. Its whole length is about thirty-two miles, one-half of which is above the Falls, and the other half lies between them and Lake Ontario. During the first part of its course, or that above the tremendous scene alluded to, this celebrated river slips quietly along out of Lake Erie, nearly at the level of the surrounding flat country. So nearly so, indeed, that if, by any of those chances which swell other rivers, but have no effect here, we could suppose the Niagara to rise perpendicularly eight or ten feet, the adjacent portion of Upper Canada on the west, and of the State of New York on the east, would be laid under water.

“ After the river passes over the Falls, however, its character is immediately and completely changed. It then runs furiously along the bottom of a deep, wall-sided valley, or huge trench, which seems to have been cut into the horizontal strata of the limestone rock by the continued action of the stream during the lapse of



ages. The cliffs on both sides are at most places nearly perpendicular, without any interval being left between the cliffs and the river, or any rounding of the edges at the top ; and a rent would seem a more appropriate term, than a valley. Above the Falls, therefore, that is, between them and Lake Erie, it will be understood, there is literally no valley at all ; as the river flows with a gentle current, and almost flush, as seamen call it, or level with the banks ; while below the cataract, the bed of the river lies so deep in the earth, that a stranger, unprepared for these peculiarities, is not aware of there being any break at all in the ground, till he comes within a few yards of the very edge of the precipice. In point of fact, we did drive for some distance on the American side of the valley or ravine of Niagara, across which we were looking, all the while, at the scenery in Canada, without knowing it, and without being in the least degree conscious that such a strong natural line of demarcation was interposed between us and that province.

“ But the river at the place where we first saw it, four miles north of the Falls, instead of slipping along quietly, finds its way with great impetuosity towards Lake Ontario, over a steep, rocky bed, so as to form one of the most formidable of those well-known torrents called Rapids.

“ The first glimpse we got of the Great Fall, was at the distance of about three miles below it, from the right or eastern bank of the river. Without attempting to describe it, I may say, that I felt at the moment quite sure that no subsequent examination, whether near or remote, could ever remove, or even materially weaken the impression left by this first view.....

“ The scenery in the neighbourhood of Niagara has,



in itself, little or no interest, and has been rendered still less attractive by the erection of hotels, paper-manufactories, saw-mills, and numerous other raw, staring, wooden edifices. Perhaps it is quite as well that it should be so ; because any scenery which should be in keeping with the grand object which gives its character to this wonderful spot, would, in all probability, diminish the effect produced by its standing entirely on its own merits. On this principle, I remember being made sensible, when looking at the temples of Pæstum, how much the effect was heightened by their being placed on a plain, far from trees, mountains, or houses.

“ It has been said, that there is always something about a bridge which interests, more or less. If it be not picturesque in itself, it may be curious in its structure, or high, or long ; or it may possess something or other to attract notice. At all events, the bridge which connects the main American shore with Goat Island, is one of the most singular pieces of engineering in the world, and shews not only much skill and ingenuity, but boldness of thought in its projector, the owner of the island. It is between six and seven hundred feet in length, and is thrown across one of the worst parts of the rapids, not more than fifty yards above the crest of the American Fall. It is made of wood, and consists of seven straight portions, resting on wooden piers, so contrived as to have perfect stability, although the foundation on which they rest, is extremely unequal. The bed of the river at that place, is covered with rounded and angular stones, varying from the size of a wheel-barrow to that of a stage-coach, and either lying side by side, or piled in heaps ; so that while the tops of some of them reach within a foot or two of the surface, others lie at the



depth of twelve or fifteen feet. Along this rugged and steep bottom, the river dashes in a torrent covered with breakers and foam, at the rate of six or seven miles an hour, making a noise not unlike that of the sea on a shallow ledge of rocks.

“ We passed the greater part of the 2d of July in roving about the banks, and studying the Falls in as many different aspects as we could command. In the course of our investigations and rambles, we met a gentleman who had resided for the last thirty-six years in this neighbourhood,—happy mortal ! He told us that the Great Horse-shoe Fall had, within his memory, gone back forty or fifty yards ; that is to say, the edge or arch of the rock over which the water poured, had broken down from time to time to that extent. This account was corroborated by that of another gentleman who had been resident on the spot for forty years.

“ As these statements came from persons of good authority, I was led to examine the geological circumstances more minutely ; for I could not conceive it possible, that the mere wearing of the water could perform such rapid changes upon hard limestone. The explanation is very simple, however, when the nature of the different strata is attended to. In the first place, they are laid exactly horizontal, the top stratum being a compact calcareous rock. In the next place, I observed, that, in proportion as the examination is carried downwards, the strata are found to be less and less indurated ; till, at the distance of a hundred feet from the topmost stratum, the rock turns to a sort of loose shale, which crumbles to pieces under the touch, and is rapidly worn away by the action of the violent blasts of wind, rising out of the pool into which this enormous cascade is projected.



"In process of time, as the lower strata are fairly eaten or worn away, the upper part of the rock must be left without a foundation. But, owing to the tough nature of the upper strata, they continue to project a long way over before they break down. There must come periods, however, every now and then, when the overhanging rock, with such an immense load of water on its shoulders, will give way, and the crest or edge of the Fall will recede a certain distance. At the time of our visit, the top of the rock, or that over which the river was directed, overhung the base, according to the rough estimate I made, between 35 and 40 feet; thus forming a hollow space, or cave, between the falling water and the face of the rock.\*

"I visited on three different occasions the extraordinary cave formed between the cascade and the face of the overhanging cliff; first, on the 3d of July, out of mere curiosity; again on the 9th, to try some experiments with the barometer; and, lastly, on the

\* "Niagara Falls.—We learn from Mr. Forsyth, the proprietor of the Pavilion, that part of the Great Fall has gone down into the chasm below, to the extent of an acre at least of the rock on the Canada side, thereby extending the curve called the Horseshoe, and adding exceedingly to the grandeur and beauty of the cataract. The Table Rock is not injured; but immediately above it, in the shoe of the Falls, where the water lately descended in a circular sheet, the range has become much more straight, and the resemblance of a semi-circle, or rather a horseshoe, is lost. The launch took place at nine in the evening of the 28th of December last, and shook the Pavilion like as if an earthquake had taken place; the concussion was even felt as far up as Chippawa, two miles above the Falls. So great was the crash, that it shook the bottles and glasses on the shelves in the hotel. There had been no expectation of that part of the Falls giving way; but the fall of the projecting cliff immediately below the Table Rock, is every day looked for."—*Colonial Advocate*, Jan. 7, 1829. The name of the Horseshoe, had long ceased to be applicable. Lieutenant F. Hall remarks, that it had become, in 1816, an acute angle, and that both Weld and Volney had observed this change.



10th, in company with a friend, purely on account of the excitement which I found such a strange combination of circumstances produce. We reached a spot 153 feet from the outside or entrance, by the assistance of a guide, who makes a handsome livelihood by this amphibious pilotage. There was a tolerably good, green sort of light within this singular cavern ; but the wind blew us first in one direction, then in another, with such alarming violence, that I thought at first we should be fairly carried off our feet, and jerked into the roaring caldron beneath. This tempest, however, was not nearly so great an inconvenience as the unceasing deluges of water driven against us. Fortunately, the direction of this gale of wind was always more or less upwards, from the pool below, right against the face of the cliffs : were it otherwise, I fancy it would be impossible to go behind the Falls, with any chance of coming out again. Even now, there is a great appearance of hazard in the expedition, though experience shews that there is no real danger. Indeed, the guide, to re-assure us, and to prove the difficulty of the descent, actually leaped downwards, to the distance of five or six yards, from the top of the bank of rubbish at the base of the cliff, along which the path is formed. The gusts of wind rising out of the basin or pool below, blew so violently against him, that he easily regained the walk.

“ This enormous cataract, in its descent, like every other cascade, carries along with it a quantity of air, which it forces far below the surface of the water,—an experiment which any one may try on a small scale by pouring water into a tumbler from a height. The quantity of air thus carried down, by so vast a river as Niagara, must be great, and the depth to



which it is driven, in all probability, considerable. It may also be much condensed by the pressure; and it will rise with proportionate violence both on the outside of the cascade, and within the sheet or curtain which forms the cataract.

“It had long been a subject of controversy, I was told, whether the air in the cave behind the Falls was condensed or rarified; and it was amusing to listen to the conflicting arguments on the subject. All parties agreed that there was considerable difficulty in breathing; but, while some ascribed this to a want of air, others asserted that it arose from the quantity being too great. The truth, however, obviously is, that we have too much water; not too much air. For I may ask, with what comfort could any man breathe with half a dozen fire-engines playing full in his face? and positively the effect of the blast behind the Falls, is just what that awkward ceremony might be supposed to produce. The direction of the wind is first one way and then another, crossing and thwarting in a very confused style, and flinging the water sometimes up, sometimes down, and often whirling it round and round like smoke, in curls or spirals, up to the very top of the cave, 100 feet above our heads, to the very edge of the precipice, over which we could distinctly see the river projected forwards, and just beginning to curve downwards. By the way, I took notice that, exactly in proportion to the apparent thickness of the mass of water, so it continued united after passing the brink. But I do not think, at any part of Niagara, the sheet of falling water remains unbroken for more than twenty feet, and that only at one place, well known by the name of the Green Water,—the most sublime and impressive part of the



whole Fall. At every other, the cascade assumes a snowy whiteness very shortly after it begins to descend. This appearance is aided, no doubt, by the blast of wind which rises from the pool on the outside of the sheet; for I observed that the external surface of the cataract was roughened, or turned upwards in a series of frothy ripples, caused either by its friction against the air through which it was passing, or, more probably, by the blast rising upwards from the pool.

“ I remarked another singular phenomenon, which I have not happened to hear mentioned before, but which is evidently connected with this branch of the subject. A number of small, sharp-pointed cones of water are projected upwards from the pool, on the outside of the Fall, sometimes to the height of 120 feet. They resemble in form some comets of which I have seen drawings. Their point, or apex, which is always turned upwards, is quite sharp, and not larger, I should say, than a man's fingers and thumb, brought as nearly to a point as possible. The conical tails which stream from these watery meteors, may vary from one or two yards to ten or twelve, and are spread out on all sides in a very curious manner.

“ The lower part of the Fall, it must be observed, is so constantly hidden from the view by a thick rolling cloud of spray, that during ten days I never succeeded once in getting a glimpse of the bottom of the falling sheet; nor do I believe it is ever seen. Out of this cloud, which waves backwards and forwards, and rises at times to the height of many hundreds of feet above the Falls, these singular cones, or comets, are seen at all times jumping up. The altitude to which they are projected, I estimated at about thirty feet below the top. The perpendicular elevation to which these



jets of water are thrown, cannot, therefore, be less than 110 or 120 feet above the surface of the pool.

“ The controversy respecting the elasticity of the air behind the Fall, was soon settled. I carried with me a barometer of the most delicate kind, made expressly with a view to the experiment. The mercury stood, at two stations on the outside, at 29.68. The instrument was then carried behind the Falls, and placed near the Termination Rock, as an impassable angle of the cliff is called, which lies at the distance of 153 feet from the entrance, measuring from the Canadian or western extremity of the Great Horse-shoe Fall. It now stood at about 29.72. The thermometer, in both cases, was at 70. of Fahrenheit. The inner station was probably ten or twelve feet lower than the external one ; and it will be easily understood, that in such a situation, with a torrent of water pouring over the instrument and the observer, and hard squalls or gusts of wind threatening to whisk the whole party into the abyss, there could be no great nicety of readings. I observed, that within the Fall, the mercury vibrated in the tube about four hundredths of an inch, and was never perfectly steady ; the highest and lowest points were, therefore, observed by the eye, and the mean recorded. During the external observations, there was only a slight tremor visible on the surface of the column. In order to prevent mistakes, I repeated the experiment at another spot, about 120 feet within the entrance, when the mercury stood at about 29.74., though still vibrating several hundredths of an inch. Upon the whole, then, considering that the inner stations were lower than the external one, the small difference between the external and the internal readings, may be ascribed to errors in observation, and not to



any difference in the degree of elasticity in the air without and within the sheet of falling water.\*

“ Though I was only half an hour behind the Fall, I came out much exhausted, partly with the bodily exertion of maintaining a secure footing while exposed to such buffeting and drenching, and partly, I should suppose, from the interest belonging to this scene, which certainly exceeds any thing I ever witnessed before. All parts of Niagara, indeed, are on a scale which baffles every attempt of the imagination to paint, and it were ridiculous, therefore, to think of describing it. The ordinary materials of description, I mean analogy and direct comparison with things which are more accessible, fail entirely in the case of that amazing cataract, which is altogether unique.” †

The most favourable season for visiting the Falls,

\* The conflicting statements respecting the practicability of going behind the curtain of the Falls, are partly reconciled by the very different state of the river at different times. Lake Erie is regularly raised, at the eastern end, by every wind blowing between the N. W. and the S. W. A strong westerly wind elevates the surface six feet above its ordinary level. The river, both at its efflux from the Lake, and at the Cataract, must partake of this elevation; and from the narrowness of the channel below the precipice, the river must be raised very considerably by the increased volume of water brought down by the Fall. On the contrary, when the wind blows from the N. E., the waters of Lake Erie must recede, and the river be necessarily lower. It is then practicable to pass up the stream to the cataract, and to go behind the sheet of descending water; whereas, when the river is full, the water spreads quite to the bank, and covers the only practicable passage. Mr. Bemis told Dr. Dwight, that when he arrived behind the sheet, he found a violent wind blowing directly in his face, with such strength, that respiration became difficult. This wind blew nearly at right angles with the breeze above. At the same time, a strong, offensive smell of sulphur increased the difficulty of breathing, and soon obliged him to retreat.—Dwight, vol. iv. pp. 84—88. The sulphurous smell, Capt. B. Hall does not appear to have perceived.

† Basil Hall, vol. i. pp. 177—204.



Weld says, is about the middle of September, when the woods are variegated with the rich tints of autumn, and "the spectator is not annoyed with vermin. In the summer season, you meet with rattlesnakes at every step, and mosquitoes swarm so thickly in the air, that, to use a common phrase of the country, you might cut them with a knife. The cold nights of September effectually banish these noxious insects." In winter, these Falls assume a new aspect, at once singular and magnificent. "Icicles of great thickness and length are formed along the banks, from the springs which flow over them. The sources, impregnated with sulphur, are congealed into transparent blue columns. Cones are formed by the spray, particularly on the American side, which have large fissures disclosing the interior, composed of clusters of icicles similar to the pipes of an organ. Some parts of the Falls are consolidated into fluted columns, and the streams above, are seen partially frozen."\*

This remarkable Cataract is formed by the brow of that vast bed of limestone which is the base of all the neighbouring country. The great Falls of the Genesee are formed by the same brow. On the Niagara, it extends to near Queenstown, seven miles below the Falls; and that they have travelled back that distance to their present position, the river having scooped out a channel through the solid limestone, has become an established opinion. Dr. Dwight finds "nothing strange or perplexing" in the supposition;† and his

\* Heriot, cited by Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 116.

† "The Falls of Niagara are among those phenomena from which speculatists have spun a cobweb theory of the earth, proving, or intended to prove,

That he who made it, and revealed its date  
To Moses, was mistaken in its age."

Duncan, vol. ii. p. 52.



opinion is entitled to particular attention from the facts which he adduces in support of it. "I have examined," he says, "three falls of the Saco, three of the Connecticut, two of the Hooestennuc, two of Otter creek, three of Onion river, two of the Hudson, two of the Mohawk, one of the Canajoharie, and one of the Passaic; besides several others. In every one of these, the same process of nature has taken place. The mode and the degree in which the phenomenon exists, are different in them all. Where the stone is of a firmer texture, and therefore less liable to be worn, or, from its nature, is less exposed to decomposition by the weather, and wherever the stream is smaller and less rapid, this phenomenon is found in a smaller degree; and wherever the contrary causes are combined, in a greater. The rocks over which the Connecticut falls, are, in each of the instances above referred to, very hard; the Falls, therefore, have receded very little. Glen's Falls were originally in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, and have receded not far from five miles in a bed of blue limestone, partly worn away by the current of the Hudson, and partly decomposed by the action of the atmosphere. I visited these Falls in 1798, 1799, 1802, and 1812. Between the second and third of these dates, a period of three years only, they were changed so much as to disappoint and surprise me. Several new and considerable chasms were formed, and others were sensibly enlarged and altered in their figures. In 1812, the scene had become in a great measure new. The Cohoes\* have receded about a mile from their original position: the channel of the Mohawk has there been forced through a mass of black slate easily worn and continually decomposed. The Canojaharie, a tributary

\* See p. 242 of this volume.



of the Mohawk, has, in the same manner, made a passage through a bed of the same slate, between banks in some places not less than 150 feet in height. During the process, the Falls in this stream have gone backward not less than a mile. The Falls of Niagara are formed in an immense mass of limestone horizontally stratified.\* On this mass lay originally a bed of earth not far from 200 feet in thickness. After this had been washed away, the river floated on the surface of the limestone, and began gradually to wear that also. Suppose then the brow of this vast stratum near Queenstown united, where it is now separated by the channel of the river, and the declivity continued across its breadth; what changes would its current produce in its bed during the period since the deluge? The very same which the Hudson has produced at Glen's Falls, and the Mohawk at the Cohoes.†

Mr. Duncan, however, combats this generally received notion as to the gradual retrocession of the Falls; contending, that it may be as reasonably concluded, that the whole channel of the Niagara, from the present Falls to Queenstown, was ploughed out by some mighty terraqueous convulsion; that, in place of being the operation of thousands of years, it may have been the work of a month, or perhaps of a day. Partial changes may, he admits, have taken place in the outline of the Great Fall, from the giving way of the rock; but that this change has been incessantly going on, he questions on this ground. The first accounts given of these Falls by European Writers,

\* A Writer in the North American Review describes the strata as consisting of limestone above and sandstone below, with forty feet interposing of exceedingly friable slate. This accords with Captain B. Hall's observations.

† Dwight, vol. iv. pp. 88, 9.



which have any claim to authenticity, correspond remarkably, at the distance of a century, to the present aspect of the Cataracts. "Goat Island is correctly delineated according to its present condition; for to this day, as then, it exactly coincides with the edge of the precipice over which the water on each side descends."\* On the other hand, we have the authority of more than one resident individual for the fact, that the Great Horse-shoe Fall has receded forty or fifty yards (Dr. Dwight says, one hundred) within the last fifty years. Taking the average at a hundred yards in thirty years, the degree of recession, Dr. Dwight remarks, would be more than sufficient to have proceeded the whole distance from Queenstown since the Deluge, even if we should compute according to the commonly received chronology. At the same time, he adds, no definite calculation can be applied to the subject, as the process would be far from regular or uniform. In seasons marked by great and sudden changes of temperature, the decomposition of the rock would be more rapid and extensive. Physical convulsions may have at least co-operated in forming the channel; and the mass of limestone to be worked through, may be supposed to diminish in depth towards the termination of the ridge. But whether the process has been suddenly effected, or more or less gra-

\* Weld, who visited the Falls in 1796, asserts that, within the memory of the inhabitants, the Falls had receded several yards; and that, according to tradition, the Horse-shoe Fall once projected in the middle. Yet, for a century past, he adds, it had remained nearly in its present form. This statement, Mr. Duncan justly considers as rather contradictory. Had the Falls receded several yards within the memory of persons then living, "Goat Island must have projected so many yards below them; while, in point of fact, it does not to this day project a single foot." No tradition on the subject is deserving of the slightest attention.



dual, this at least may be considered as ascertained ; that the objections urged against the truth of the Mosaic account of the creation, founded upon the number of years that must have elapsed since these Falls commenced their retrocession, are utterly gratuitous and not less unphilosophical than irreligious.

Supposing, however, the decomposition of the rock to proceed with any regularity, the inquiry has been suggested, what would be the final result of such recession? The Falls would ultimately reach the waters of Lake Erie, and, by depressing the outlet to the common level of the channel below the precipice, would empty the waters of that lake, perhaps suddenly, into Lake Ontario. All the flat country surrounding the latter, together with that which extends along the shores of the St. Lawrence to the ocean, would then, it is supposed, be buried in the deluge. "On this subject," however, remarks Dr. Dwight, "there is no reason for apprehension. Before the waters of Lake Erie can be sensibly affected by this recession, it must have passed through a distance at least three times as great as that between Queenstown and Niagara. The level two miles above, is at least sixty feet higher than at the precipice. The river is every where wider above, than below, by an average at least three-fold. By both these causes, the retrogression of the Falls will be retarded. The mass of stone to be destroyed, will also be greater. Should all the causes of decay, then, operate with equal efficacy as in times past, more than 16,000 years must elapse before this event would take place." \*

At the distance of five miles from the Falls, there is a remarkable whirlpool in the river, which has formed in the high, perpendicular bank, a large

\* Dwight, vol. iv. p. 92.



semi-circular excavation, on the British side, into which the current whirls with prodigious violence, depositing trunks of trees and the carcasses of animals that have been swept down the Falls.\* The river must be here several hundred feet deep. At Queens-town, which is four miles further, the stream is still extremely rapid, owing to the narrowness of the channel; † but, after a short distance, and before it empties itself into the lake, it has assumed a quiescent and tranquil course, nor does any turbid appearance remain, to convey the slightest idea of proximity to the Cataract of Niagara.

The country round the Falls, is described by Mr. Howison as thickly inhabited, in a high state of cultivation, and exquisitely beautiful. Several gentlemen's mansions have been recently built in situations commanding the sublime scenery of the river. Goat Island, which has received the more poetic appellation

\* Mr. Howison says: "There have been instances of people being carried over the Falls, but I believe, none of the bodies ever were found. A dog, which I have seen, was carried over the Great Fall some years ago, and suffered no injury except the fracture of two of his ribs. Dead wild-ducks are found in great numbers along the banks of the river, near the bottom of the cataract, on the mornings that succeed dark and stormy nights. Some people suppose that these animals are carried over while asleep; but more probably they get entangled among the rapids above, and are swept away before they are aware of their danger."—Howison, pp. 116, 17. In the *New York Advertiser* of October 8th, last, there is a strange account of a person's leaping the cataract, and taking a dive into the foaming caldron of the Niagara. A boat was in readiness to receive him, but he is stated to have swum to shore, and clambered up the rocks amid the cheers of the spectators. We scarcely know what credit to give to the marvellous relation.—See *The Times*, November 11, 1829.

† At the ferry, the Niagara is 1250 feet in breadth, and from two to three hundred feet in depth. The wreathing and perturbed appearance of the water, shews that its course is much impeded by the narrowness of the rocky channel.—Howison, p. 89.



of Iris Island, contains about 70 acres of excellent soil, covered with fine timber. A carriage road winds round it, from which small paths diverge to those parts of its rocky shores where the different aspects of the Falls and the Rapids may be viewed to most advantage. This Traveller speaks in raptures of the enchanting beauty of this singular Island,—the indescribable variety of prospect it affords, the luxuriant verdure that crowns its banks, the peculiar beauty and fragrance of its wild flowers, nourished by the spray of the cataract. “Often volumes of snow-white vapour, among which the prismatic colours appear with changeful lustre, float along the cliffs of the Island, gloriously enveloping them in the effulgence of heaven.”\*

Niagara is said to be an Iroquois word, signifying the thunder of waters.† The once formidable and warlike Iroquois tribes formerly occupied the country round the head of Lake Ontario. Part of the wretched remnant of the Five Nations are now collected at the Seneca village near Buffalo, the inhabitants of which were formerly noted for idleness and dissipation, and, under the influence of a chief named Red Jacket, long resisted all attempts to introduce the knowledge of Christianity. Schools have at length been established there, as well as at Tuscarora and Cattaraugus, by the American Board of Missions, in which the Indians are

\* Howison, p. 119. Mr. Schoolcraft and another recent American Traveller speak of “Iris Island,” “the Pavilion,” and “Ontario Hotel;” names which were not in existence a few years ago. Amid the wilds of Goat Island, the English traveller is startled at meeting with one disgusting type of American civilization,—a billiard table!—See American Sketches, p. 240.

† The Indians pronounce the word *Niagāra*, but Americans and Canadians universally, *Niagara*. “The awful spirit of the Iroquois,” according to the native legends, says Chateaubriand, dwells at the Cataract of Niagara.



taught to read their own language in translations prepared by the Missionaries. Tuscarora village, which was visited by Mr. Duncan in 1818, is about four miles from Lewiston, on the south of the Ridge Road. The log-huts are scattered at some little distance from each other, on the brow of the slope which forms the continuation of the heights of Queenstown.\* A log-hut of larger dimensions than the rest, serves the double purpose of a church on the sabbath, and a school-house during the week. "The sound of the church-going bell," says Mr. Duncan, "was indeed wanting; but an old Indian at the porch was winding a long blast upon a horn; and as its echoes rang through the woods, Indians and white men, old and young, assembled at the summons." The aspect of the congregation was novel and interesting. A small desk at the head of the room was the Missionary's pulpit; forms were ranged around for the auditory; and on the walls were hung the large alphabets and spelling lessons used in Lancasterian schools. The Indians wore dresses of broad cloth of various colours; the men, a kind of frock coat and leggings; the women, a large mantle, red, blue, or green, with leggings and moccasins fancifully embroidered: some of them had a profusion of silver ornaments on various parts of their dress. The whole preserved the most decorous silence and solemnity, the women sitting enveloped in their mantle, with its folds brought up with the left hand across the mouth, so that only the upper part of the countenance was visible. The service was begun with a hymn, which the Indians sang in their own language,

\* During the last war with Great Britain, this settlement shared in the desolation of all the villages on each side of the river; but these villages had been rebuilt, and the Indians again collected, at the time of this Traveller's visit.



in a very pleasing style, to one of our ordinary church tunes. Most of them had music-books open before them, and they sang the different parts. Their voices were good ; those of the women particularly sweet. When the hymn was concluded, Mr. Crane, the Missionary, addressed them in English, an old Indian interpreting the address to his Red brethren, sentence by sentence. It was listened to with profound attention. Another hymn succeeded, sung by the Indians ; after which, Mr. Crane offered up a prayer, and then delivered a discourse, which was in like manner interpreted sentence by sentence. At its conclusion, one of the Christian Indians was called upon to pray in his native language before the whole assembly, which he did with great fervour and emotion. An Indian chief named Longboard then rose, and spontaneously addressed the assembly. He was dressed in a style somewhat superior to most of them, and wore at his breast a large silver medal bearing the bust of Washington. He folded his arms as he rose, and his drawling accents were in striking contrast to the impassioned prayer of the preceding speaker. His speech, which lasted about ten minutes, was ostensibly in support of the Missionary, but had for its real object, to prop his own authority, in order that, when a fit opportunity offered, it might be exerted in an opposite way. He has, since then, thrown off the mask, and been compelled to retire with his adherents into Canada.\* At

\* This chief had formerly possessed considerable influence in his nation ; and he often boasted that it was altogether in consequence of his addresses, that any improvement in the character and conduct of the Indians had taken place. Jealousy of the Missionary's ascendancy, and mortification at finding his own influence undermined by the introduction of civilization, were probably the motives which prompted him and some others to make a vigorous



the conclusion of Longboard's oration, the Indians united in singing another hymn, and the service was concluded with the benediction.

Mr. Duncan was assured, that, since the introduction of Christianity among them, a material improvement had taken place in the condition of the Tuscaroras, who had previously been in a state of as great debasement as any of the surrounding tribes. They now pay considerable attention to agriculture, and, in addition to maize, have begun to cultivate wheat; they are honest in their transactions, sober, industrious, and, as a community, happy and comfortable beyond what they ever were before.\*

Other Missionary stations have been established by the American Board, at Mackinaw, on an island in the straits between Lakes Huron and Michigan; at New Stockbridge, on the west side of Lake Michigan; and at Maumee, on the river of that name, near the Ottawas, 10 miles S. of Perrysburg. The Western and Southern tribes have also occupied the attention of the Board; and great advances have been made by some of the Cherokees more especially, in knowledge, morals, and the arts of civilized life. To the interesting subject of these Missions, we shall have occasion to advert hereafter.

The little town of Niagara is built upon the British side of the river, close to the town of Ontario.† Fort

effort to put down the new doctrines, and expel the teachers. The contest occasioned considerable confusion for a time, but terminated in the re-establishment of peace and harmony.

\* Duncan, vol. II. pp. 62—77. See also, "A Sabbath among the Tuscarora Indians," by the same Author. Glasgow, 1819; and *Miss. Register* for 1829, p. 140.

† "Map-makers and travellers," says Mr. Duncan, "persist in calling it Newark, but that name is not acknowledged by the inhabitants."



George, a turf entrenchment of considerable extent, stands close by the town. On the opposite bank of the river, and close upon the edge of the lake, is Fort Niagara, a stone fortification, originally constructed by the French, but considerably improved and strengthened by the Americans, particularly since the last war; and a strong breastwork has been thrown up to resist the encroachment of the water, which threatened to undermine the whole fabric.

The Welland Canal, connecting the waters of Lake Erie with Lake Ontario, would properly fall under our notice in the description of Canada; yet, a reference to this noble result of individual enterprise seems called for in this place.\* Captain B. Hall gives the following description of it.

“The level of Lake Erie above Lake Ontario, is 330 feet; which is surmounted by a series of thirty-seven locks, cut on the ridge of the mountain facing Lake Ontario. The whole canal is  $41\frac{1}{2}$  miles long, and is of a size to admit the largest class of sailing vessels navigating the lakes. These are schooners from 90 to 120 tons burden; and they will pass readily enough through the locks, which are made 100 feet long and 22 feet wide. The Welland Canal is 58 feet wide at the surface, 26 at bottom, and carries eight feet water at its shallowest places. By a judicious set of arrangements, this may readily be augmented to 10 feet, if vessels of a greater draught should be built for the lakes. A great part of the channel was

\* “The bold and workmanlike idea of making a ship canal from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, originated with Mr. William Hamilton Merritt, a resident at the village of St. Catherine’s in Upper Canada, through which spot the canal now passes. All parties concur in saying, that to his perseverance and knowledge of the subject, as well as to his great personal exertions, this useful work is mainly indebted for its success.”—B. Hall, vol. i. p. 215.



ready made by nature. The Welland and Grand Rivers, which form a considerable portion of the whole work, are, indeed, more like canals than running streams, their flow being imperceptible. Ten or twelve miles of the canal, also, are cut through a marsh ; by which operation, an extensive tract of rich soil has been laid bare, and will be brought at once into cultivation, in a part of the country where such land is most valuable. . . . The chain of locks by which the canal descends that side of the hill which faces Lake Ontario, was formed under greater advantages than the series at Lockport (on the Erie Canal). They lie, during a great part of the way, along the course of a ravine or natural cleft, so admirably suited to the purposes required, that, in many instances, little more has been found necessary, than merely cutting a towing-path on the banks, after damming up a series of large ponds or reservoirs ; which serve not only the primary purpose of feeding the locks, but also furnish water in such profuse quantity, that numerous mills and manufactories will be supplied, even in the driest season, by the mere waste waters of the canal.”\*

The Welland Canal is said to have one important advantage over its rival, arising from its southern end (or that which opens into Lake Erie) lying further westward than the opening of the American canal ; in consequence of which, the ice blocks up the entrance to the latter at Buffalo, several weeks longer than the mouth of the Canadian canal. Lake Erie, which is not in general above ten or twelve fathoms deep,† is frozen over every season ; while Ontario is so deep that ice never forms upon it. “ It thus acts the part of a

\* B. Hall, vol. I. pp. 216, 17.

† Mr. Howison says, from 15 to 18 fathoms.



great heater," Captain B. Hall remarks, "to temper the severity of the winter in those regions; and we find that the climate on both sides of this magnificent body of water, which is 170 miles in length by 35 in breadth, is actually much milder in winter, and cooler in summer, than either at New York or Quebec."\*

The communication between the sea and Lake Erie, is at present almost exclusively enjoyed by the Americans, who send their goods either direct, by the Great Canal, to Buffalo, or turn out of it at Syracuse, and having entered Lake Ontario at Oswego, proceed to the Welland, and thus easily reach Lake Erie. But, were a canal cut round the rapids on the St. Lawrence, the most advantageous and direct communication with the sea, this Traveller represents, would be, not by the Hudson, but by the St. Lawrence. "It now costs the Americans 180 miles of canal and 570 feet of lockage, to establish a communication between the ocean and Lake Ontario; whereas, if the improvements were completed round the rapids of the St. Lawrence, 60 miles of canal, and 194 feet of lockage, would accomplish the same purpose."†

We must now return to the Atlantic coast, in order to take a survey of the maritime States to the north of New York. Our description of New England will of course commence with its capital, the birth-place of American Independence.

\* We take these measurements from the statements of this Traveller, although differing from the authorities followed in our general description of the Lakes.

† B. Hall, vol. ii. pp. 222—227.



## B O S T O N .

**Boston**, the capital of Massachusetts, may boast of what, in America, must be called antiquity. It is a city two hundred years old. Philadelphia was a forest more than half a century after Governor Winthrop had laid the foundations of the City of the Pilgrims; and New York was an insignificant village long after its rival had become a great commercial town. It had increased but slowly in size during the last century, prior to the year 1790, when it contained 18,038 inhabitants.\* In 1800, its population had risen to 24,937; in 1810, to 33,250; in 1820, to 43,298. In point of commercial importance it ranks as the fourth city in the Union; New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans, having now got before it.

The city is built on an irregular peninsula, nearly two miles in length, at the bottom of Massachusetts Bay, and united to the main land by an isthmus more than a mile in length. The harbour is safe and commodious, strongly defended against maritime attack. The town has outgrown the limits of its natural position; and Charleston upon an opposite peninsula, and South Boston upon the main land, may be regarded as integral parts of the city. "Circumscribed, however, as they are," says Mr. Duncan, "the citizens have had the good taste to reserve a park of upwards of forty acres, upon which no buildings have been allowed to encroach. The Mall, as this is called, is surrounded with spreading elms, and is the finest within the limits of any considerable town in the

\* Morse, in 1790, gives, as a recent computation, 14,640, (of which 6570 were males, and 8070 females,) exclusive of strangers, who made, he says, nearly one-third of the population.



United States. This obvious ornament has been strangely overlooked in the larger American cities, notwithstanding the abundance of elbow-room which all of them enjoy."\* The streets in the old town, with a few exceptions, are, according to Dr. Dwight, "narrow, crooked, and disagreeable. The settlers appear to have built where they wished, where a vote permitted, or where danger or necessity forced them to build. The streets strike the eye of a traveller as if intended to be mere passages from one neighbourhood to another,—the result of casualty, not of contrivance,"—just like a European city. A large proportion of the buildings too, were erected at periods when the inhabitants were in straitened circumstances, and their knowledge of architecture was very defective. The people of New York and Philadelphia, says the learned Traveller, to a great extent, live in hired houses which have been erected by professional builders; whereas the citizens of Boston have very generally lived in houses of their own, which each individual has built according to his own taste or ability. Many of the modern houses in Boston, however, are superior to those of every other American city. Houses of stone are interspersed in great numbers through most parts of the town; but in West Boston, and still more on Mount Vernon, (the modern name of Beacon Hill,) they appear to peculiar advantage. Previously to the year 1796, the latter spot was almost absolutely a waste. In that year, it was purchased by three Boston gentlemen, by whom, at a great expense, the ground was levelled, its steep western declivity cut down, and a field of nearly thirty acres

\* "It is remarkable," observes Dr. Dwight, "that the scheme of forming public squares, so beautiful, and in great towns so conducive to health, should have been almost universally forgotten."



converted by this means into "one of the most beautiful building-grounds in the world." \* In splendour of building and nobleness of situation, this West End of Boston is not, we are told, "within many degrees of a rival" on that side of the Atlantic.

Boston struck Mr. Duncan as having altogether much more the appearance of an English town, than New York. "Many of the buildings are of a fine white granite, and most of the others are of brick. The streets are very compactly built; and although many of them are narrow and crooked, all exhibit a degree of order and cleanliness which will in vain be looked for in New York.

"On a finely rising ground at the upper part of the Mall, stands the State House, a building of humbler pretensions, as to size and materials, than the New York City Hall, but, in situation and architectural outline, greatly superior. It is nearly square; in front is a lofty, projecting colonnade of the Corinthian order, twelve columns in length, springing from a piazza of rusticated arches, but unhappily bearing only a balustrade, over which rises a small attic story with a pediment; and overtopping all, is a large circular dome, terminated with a small square lantern, from which a most commanding view is obtained of the surrounding country. In front is Boston Bay, studded with nearly forty islands, with fortifications and a light-house; the shores which surround its ample basin, advancing and receding with most capricious irregularity, and forming numerous capes and peninsulas, on one of the largest of which the city stands.

\* Captain Basil Hall styles Boston a beautiful town. "Nothing we had yet seen in America," he says, "came near to Boston in the cleanliness, neatness, and, in many instances, the elegance of the streets."



The vast amphitheatre round the bay, exhibits a country richly variegated with hill and valley, immense forests and cultivated ground, and sprinkled with above twenty little towns of snowy whiteness, among which a dozen of spires may be counted.”\*

Among the other public buildings are about five-and-twenty churches; † the State Prison; a Lunatic Asylum; a General Hospital; a Court-house; an Alms-house; Faneuil Hall; a Medical College; a Custom-house; and a Theatre.‡

The State Prison, or Penitentiary, consists of a range of buildings of granite, containing, besides the apartments for lodging the prisoners, extensive workshops for carrying on various handicraft arts, with a spacious, open court, which affords a free circulation of air to the whole establishment. The prison is sur-

\* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 46, 47. The State House, which stands on the eastern side of Beacon Hill, is 173 feet in length by 61. It cost about 40,000*l.* sterling in building.—Dwight, vol. i. p. 454.

† Morse, in 1789, states the number of places of public worship in Boston to be sixteen; *viz.*, Congregationalists, nine; Episcopalians, three; Baptists, two; Quakers, one; Universalists, one. Dr. Dwight, in 1797, found them increased to eighteen, but his enumeration is different; *viz.*, Presbyterians, ten; Episcopal, three; Baptist, two; Methodist, one; Roman Catholic, one; Universalist, one. In 1806, another Presbyterian church, another Episcopal one, another Baptist, another Methodist, another Universalist, and an African church had been added; making twenty-four. Mr. Duncan, distinguishing the congregations as orthodox, or the contrary, states, that in more than half of the churches, (*viz.* one Episcopal and eleven or twelve Presbyterian or Congregational,) Socinian sentiments are avowedly or disguisedly promulgated. The other churches are, he adds, three Episcopalian, four Baptist, (one for Blacks,) two Congregationalist, two Methodist, two Universalist, and one Romish. Duncan, vol. i. p. 87. In this estimate, the proportion of Unitarian congregations, there is reason to believe, is greatly overrated; and according to recent information, they are not on the increase.

There were two theatres, but one has been pulled down.



rounded with a high wall, with turrets and platforms at the four corners, on which sentinels keep guard with loaded muskets. All the prisoners, except those condemned to a solitary cell, are employed in some manual art. Part of them are kept in regular employment by tradesmen who provide them with work : the remainder are variously employed on behalf of the establishment. A small proportion of the earnings of each prisoner is allowed to accumulate for his own benefit, that he may be stimulated to labour, and, when his term of punishment expires, have a little money to supply his immediate exigencies. At the time of Mr. Duncan's visit, the classification in this prison was very imperfect, and there were other drawbacks upon the efficacy of the system. Since then, (in 1825,) a society has been formed at Boston, for "the Improvement of Public Prisons," by whom some important measures have been carried into effect. A new building has been erected within the limits of the State Prison in Charleston ; and an act has passed the State legislature, giving the city council of Boston authority to send juvenile delinquents to a separate penitentiary. The neglected and consequently degraded state of the coloured population, is assigned as one main cause of the frequency and increase of crime in this State. In 1826, the total population of Massachusetts was 523,000, of which the coloured population was 7000, or one seventy-fourth part : the whole number of convicts was 314 ; the coloured convicts, 50, or one-sixth. In Connecticut and New Jersey, the coloured convicts formed a third ; in New York, about one-fourth ; and in Pennsylvania, more than one-third of the whole number.\*

\* See "Seventh Report of the Society for the Improvement of



The Lunatic Hospital is well situated, a mile and a half from Boston. The direct approach to it is by one of the many wooden bridges which, "with their wearisome but needful length," connect the town with the surrounding country. The buildings crown the brow of a rising-ground which swells gradually from the water, commanding a fine view of the city and bay. Ten acres of ground, with an ancient mansion, to which new buildings have been attached, are appropriated to this benevolent institution. The General Hospital is "a large and well ventilated granite building, abundantly roomy and well ordered in every part." \*

Boston is honourably pre-eminent in the number of its literary and educational institutions. From the "School Report" of 1826, it appears, that the number of schools in this city, is not less than 215, although the population is under 50,000.† The public schools are maintained by a tax; and as every person has a right to send his children to these establishments, the poor obtain education almost gratis. The rich mostly prefer sending their children to pri-

Prison Discipline." London, 1827. Appendix, pp. 306—329. Some highly interesting extracts from the Report of the Boston Society, will be found in this highly valuable collection of documents.

\* "Indeed," says Captain Basil Hall, whose words are cited in the text, "I hardly ever saw an establishment of the kind which could pretend to rival it, except, perhaps, the Infirmary at Derby."

† In January 1821, the number of "primary public schools" for the instruction of children between four and seven years of age, was thirty-five; and the number of children belonging to them was, 1825 girls and 921 boys. A general regulation provides, that no school shall have less than forty, or more than fifty children attached to it. The teachers are all females. These public primary schools are considered as superior to the private ones. The public schools for older children were, in 1796, six English, and one Latin Grammar School, containing 1300 children. They must now be more numerous.—See Dwight, vol. i. p. 460. Basil Hall, vol. ii. p. 164.



vate academies. The public schools are under the inspection of a committee of gentlemen annually chosen, whose duty it is to visit them once in three months. "The Bostonians are very proud, and perhaps justly so," remarks Captain Basil Hall, "of this system of public instruction." Boston is rich in public libraries, among which that of the Athenæum, a literary institution incorporated in 1817, claims pre-eminence. In works on American history, the collection is said to be unrivalled. A museum is attached to it. The other literary societies of Boston are, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the American Antiquarian Society; the Massachusetts' Medical Society; the Massachusetts' Historical Society; and the Massachusetts' Agricultural Society. Its charitable associations are not less numerous. Among these are, a Bible Society for Massachusetts; several Missionary Societies; an Institution for the relief of the widows and children of deceased ministers; a Humane Society for the Relief of distressed Seamen; and a Female Asylum.

About three miles from Boston, is Harvard College, the Cambridge University of America; the most ancient and most amply endowed collegiate establishment in the Union. The foundation of this public seminary was laid in the year 1636, by the appropriation of 400*l.* for the purpose of a public school, by the General Court of the infant colony. In 1638, the Rev. John Harvard, of Charleston, bequeathed to it one-half of his property, amounting to nearly 800*l.* The institution was now dignified with the name of Harvard College; and the town, which had hitherto been called Newtown, was named Cambridge, in honour of that seat of science in England, at which a great number of the principal colonists had received



their education. Thus, remarks Dr. Dwight, "within ten years after the little flock which commenced the settlement at Massachusetts, landed at Salem, and within eighteen years after the first foot was set on the shore of Plymouth, a college was endowed by them, and established." In 1650, the first charter was granted by a General Court, constituting the President and Fellows of the College a corporate body. This charter was confirmed by the constitution of the State, when the style of "the University in Cambridge" was first legally given. The professorships of divinity and of mathematics and natural philosophy were founded by Mr. Thomas Hollis, a merchant of London, in 1722 and 1726; that of Hebrew, by the Hon. Thomas Hancock, an eminent merchant of Boston, in 1765. Other professorships have been added from time to time, by subsequent benefactions. They now amount to upwards of twenty, including the Medical Department, which is an integral part of the Institution, although, for the greater convenience of medical students, it occupies buildings in Boston. The University now comprises five colleges and a new hall, (erected in 1814, at an expense of nearly 17,000*l.*,) containing the chapel, lecture-rooms, dining-rooms, and kitchen: this hall, which is of fine white granite, is reckoned the handsomest building in Massachusetts. The buildings stand in an inclosed plain, fourteen acres in extent, sheltered on three sides by forest trees, and in the immediate vicinity of an extensive common. The library, containing (in 1820) upwards of 25,000 volumes, is the best in the United States. The philosophical apparatus is also valuable. The museum has been enriched by a collection of mineralogical specimens, principally presented by Dr. Lettsom of London, and the Paris Committee of Public Safety.



There is also a valuable collection of anatomical wax models, the workmanship of Italian artists.\* The academical course is completed in four years, at an expense of not less than about 100 guineas a-year : in most cases, the students expend a great deal more.

“ The literary and scientific reputation of Harvard University,” says Mr. Duncan, “ stands very high ; and except Yale College, none in this country can contest with it the pre-eminence. There is one feature, however, in its character, which excites the most melancholy reflections. Its theological creed is undisguised Socinianism ; and it is said, that nearly all the professors are of these sentiments.....The state of religion in the capital of New England is far from cheering. Whether the contagious influence spread from Harvard University to Boston, or from Boston to it, I know not ; but, though both were once distinguished for evangelical sentiments, both are now alike characterized by the lamentable predominance of Socinianism.”†

The rise and progress of what is called Unitarianism in America, is a subject which it scarcely falls within the province of the present work to advert to, except in reference to its supposed connection with the

\* Partly imported from Florence, and in part the workmanship of an Italian emigrant. At Boston, there is another collection of anatomical preparations in wax, beautifully executed by a Dr. Williams.

† Duncan, vol. II. pp. 81, 87. “ During 140 years, Boston was probably more distinguished for religion, than any city of the same size in the world. An important change has, however, within a period of no great length, taken place in the religious opinions of the Bostonians. Before this period, moderate Calvinism very generally prevailed. At the present time, Unitarianism appears to be the predominating system. It is believed that neither ministers nor people have had any reason to congratulate themselves on this change.”—Dwight, vol. i. p. 470.



national character and institutions. Captain Basil Hall was "forcibly struck," he tells us, "with an important analogy between the doctrines of this Liberal Christianity and those principles of government which have gained, by gradual advances, the entire political ascendancy in America;" and he thinks that Unitarianism may fairly be called "the Democracy of Religion." Had not this Writer been biassed by the determination to make democracy answerable for everything he disliked in the United States, he would not, perhaps, have overlooked the fact, that Socinianism is not, never has been, and never can be, either in America or in Europe, the religion of the people. Modern Unitarianism has fixed its strongholds in the Swiss Cantons, under a form of government the most purely aristocratical, perhaps, in the world; and long before the contagion had spread across the Atlantic, it had infected the Presbyterian churches of Geneva, France, Germany, and England. It has always commenced, not with the people, but with the pastors; and its natural history marks it as the hybrid production of Deism and Nominal Christianity. Thus, at Geneva, the writings of the French Encyclopedists, together with the personal influence of Voltaire,\* Rousseau, and Gibbon, mainly contributed to produce that secret defection from the faith avowed in the public symbols of the church, which at length proclaimed itself from the pulpits of the city of Calvin. In America, its close affinity to undisguised infidelity, has been not less unequivocally

\* Voltaire, writing to D'Alembert in 1757, represents the Calvinists in Geneva as very few, and all the honest folks as Deists. Six years after, he declares with high satisfaction to the same correspondent: "*Il n'y a plus dans la ville de Calvin que quelques gredins qui croient au consubstantiel*" (meaning the deity of Christ).



manifested; and the influence of Paine, Jefferson,\* and Franklin in like manner paved the way for its cheerless and desolating triumphs. Of the state of things at Boston, nine years ago, we have the following account in the Letters of an intelligent English Traveller.

“From all that I can learn, it appears that Unitarian opinions have been entertained in New England for fifty years at least, and perhaps much longer. Generally speaking, however, they were not very openly avowed till much more recently; some of those who held them concealing their sentiments because they were unpopular,—others, because they felt indifferent about them,—and others, more reflecting and philosophical, because they conceived that their extension would be most effectually promoted at that particular time by reserve and caution. The first Unitarian congregation formed in America, was established in the King’s chapel soon after the Revolution. This was the chapel in which the Governor worshipped; but, becoming private property, the majority, having changed their sentiments, expunged from the church prayers all allusion to Trinitarian doctrines, and openly renounced the Trinity: the minority of course retired. In 1792, a Unitarian congregation was formed at Portland in the district of Maine, and another at Saco, a small town twenty miles further to the south. Both these congregations soon expired, but another has since been established at Portland.

“As Unitarian sentiments became more general, they were gradually avowed with less reserve; yet, the

\* Speaking of Mr. Jefferson, Dr. Priestley uses in a letter, these remarkable words: “He is generally considered as an unbeliever; if so, however, he cannot be far from us, and I hope in the way to be not only almost, but altogether what we are.”



pulpits of many ministers who were supposed to have imbibed them, gave no evidence of the fact, except that of *omissions*. This at length brought upon them the charge of insincerity from their more orthodox brethren. The imputation was repelled with warmth; and the public were left in great doubt as to the precise sentiments of many of their pastors. Dr. Morse, who had been the most prominent of those who publicly manifested their regret at the defection of their brethren from the common faith, was accused of misrepresentation; and the most candid felt it almost impossible to arrive at the real state of things. At this time, Dr. Morse happened to meet with Mr. Belsham's *Life of Lindsey*, in which he found his own representations borne out by letters and documents transmitted from Boston by the Unitarians themselves. These he strung together in the form of a pamphlet, under the title of "*American Unitarianism*." \* This pamphlet was eagerly read, and produced a great sensation. It disclosed the actual state of things, brought the question to an issue, and ranged in opposite ranks those advocates of conflicting sentiments, who had hitherto been confusedly intermingled. A paper controversy has since been carried on at intervals, as particular circumstances or occasional excitement prompted; and both parties, as usual, claim the victory.

"In the mean time, Unitarianism has advanced; but, although it is evident that it prevails to a considerable extent, Dr. Morse assured me, that he did

\* "*American Unitarianism, or a Brief History of the Progress and Present State of the Unitarian Churches in America*. By the Rev. Thomas Belsham. Extracted from his *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey*. Boston, 1815" (our copy is the fourth edition).



not believe it was gaining ground at present. If the number of its advocates seems to have augmented during the last year or two, he was disposed to ascribe the apparent increase to a more open avowal of their sentiments by many who were Unitarians before, rather than to a more general conviction of the truth of Unitarianism.....There are comparatively few Unitarians, except in New England; and very few there, except in the towns on the coast. In Boston, I believe, there are seven or eight congregations of Unitarians, of different shades. In Baltimore, a splendid and costly Unitarian chapel was lately finished. In Philadelphia, there is a small Unitarian place of worship. In New York, a new Unitarian chapel (or what the orthodox consider as such) was opened in 1821.....But Boston is the head-quarters of Unitarianism.

“ The most important feature in the history of the present state of Unitarianism in this country, is the strong hold it has obtained in Harvard College, the most extensive, and, in a literary point of view, the most respectable college in the Union, in which a large proportion of the younger members of the most opulent families in the different States receive their education. Many parents are prevented by religious considerations from sending their children thither; but the objection has less influence than you would expect, among those who are opposed to Unitarian sentiments. This, and perhaps Transylvania University at Lexington, are, happily, the only colleges under the influence of Unitarian sentiments. Yale College, Princeton, Columbia, and all the others that I am acquainted with, are opposed to them: but the noble theological Institution at Andover, liberally endowed, formed for the express purpose of raising up able champions



to contend earnestly for the faith at home, and accomplished and devoted missionaries to diffuse it abroad, blessed with learned and pious professors ardently engaged in their official duties, is likely to prove the strongest barrier to the progress of Unitarian sentiments."\*

At what period Socinianism gained the predominancy in Harvard College, does not appear; but it was not longer ago than 1813, that the alteration in the doctrinal character of the prayers attracted public attention. The insidious and clandestine policy pursued by the Professor of Divinity and his colleagues, long concealed the revolution that was taking place. In this respect, there is the closest analogy between the history of "American Unitarianism," and that of the gradual development of Socinianism in the churches of Geneva. The doctrines which it was wished to explode, were at first suppressed, rather than opposed; and "the religion which consists in not believing," was dexterously insinuated by a method correspondent to its negative character.† The greater number of those who were thus inoculated with the virus of scepticism, were unaware of the process by which the change in their religious feelings was produced. "The majority of those who are Unitarian," it was avowed by one of the party, "are perhaps of

\* Hodgson, vol. II. pp. 237—246.

† The process has been thus not unfairly described. "By separating the mind insensibly from the objects of its belief, it gradually weakens the impression of their existence, till at length indifference becomes doubt, and doubt, not long supportable to him that has once believed, drives the mind to disbelief. In this state, the Socinian system offers a plausible, and, compared with open infidelity, a creditable refuge from the hauntings of conscience and the agitations of uncertainty; and thus, the opinions become an easy conquest."—*Eclectic Review*, N. S. vol. iv. p. 270, article, American Unitarianism.



these sentiments, without any distinct consciousness of being so." The negative character of the creed, in fact, almost defies definition. The shades of opinion which it includes, are almost infinite. Generally speaking, it is but the chronic form into which the disease of infidelity is apt to settle, in the minds of those who have been taught to enthrone reason in the place of Revelation, and to mistake for truth itself the organ by which truth is apprehended. The "spirit of the Pilgrims" still survives, however, at Boston; and it would be as unjust to impute the partial spread of any form of infidelity in America to its political institutions, as to ascribe the Arianism of Clarke, or the Socinianism of Lindsey, to the constitution or ecclesiastical polity of our own country.

Dr. Dwight has devoted a chapter to the character of the inhabitants of Boston; and as so much loose and vague remark has been put forth by various Travellers, upon the national character of the Americans, (who differ among themselves not less widely than the natives of the different countries comprised in the United Kingdom,) the observations of the learned American must be regarded as claiming attention.

"The Bostonians, almost without an exception, are derived from one country and a single stock. They are all descendants of Englishmen, and of course are united by all the great bonds of society,—language, religion, government, manners, and interests. With a very small number of exceptions, they speak the English language in the English manner; are Protestants; hold the great principles of English liberty; are governed voluntarily by the English common law, and by statutes strongly resembling those of Great Britain, under a constitution essentially copied from the British, and by courts in almost every respect



the same. Their education, also, differs very little in the school, the shop, the counting-house, or the university. Although they are republicans, and generally congregationalists, they are natively friends of good order and firm government, and feel the reputation of Old Massachusetts in much the same manner as an Englishman feels the honour of Old England.

“ Every New Englander, with hardly an exception, is taught to read, write, and keep accounts. By means of this privilege, knowledge is, probably, more universally diffused here, than in any other considerable town in the world. A great number of the inhabitants also have been liberally educated.....Boston is distinguished for its habits of business. A man who is not believed to follow some useful business, can scarcely acquire or retain even a decent reputation. A traveller passing through it, is struck with the peculiar appearance of activity every where visible. Almost all whom he meets, move with a sprightliness differing very sensibly from what he observes in New York or Philadelphia.\*

“ Not less distinguished are the inhabitants, particularly the middle and inferior classes, for their intelligence and information. In a singular degree they are acquainted with the affairs of the town itself, and with the residence and character of almost every inhabitant. I have rarely met a child who could not tell me both the street and the house for which I inquired.† Nor

\* Owing to this “ardour” of temperament, the Bostonians, Dr. Dwight says, are distinguished by a pronunciation unusually rapid, frequently contracting two short syllables into one, and rendering the language still rougher by a violent junction of consonants; as *Swed’n*, *Brit’n*, *gard’n*, *ves’l*. At the same time, they are “perfectly free from the multiform brogue which salutes the ears of a traveller in New York and Philadelphia.”

† This remark may illustrate the observation cited from Mr.



are they less distinguished for civility. A Bostonian, if not pressed by business of his own, will readily accompany a stranger to the house which he wishes to find, and will scarcely appear to feel as if he conferred the least obligation.

“ The people of Boston are characteristically distinguished by a lively imagination, an ardour easily kindled, a sensibility soon felt and strongly expressed. They admire, where graver people would only approve ; detest, where cooler minds would only dislike ; applaud a performance where others would listen in silence ; and hiss where a less susceptible audience would only frown. This character renders them sometimes more, sometimes less amiable, usually less cautious, and often more exposed to future regret. From this source, their language is frequently hyperbolic, and their pictures of objects in any way interesting, highly coloured.\*

“ Hence, also, their enterprises are sudden, bold, and sometimes rash. A general spirit of adventure prevails here, which, in numerous instances, has become the means of attempts made with honour and success, in cases where many of their commercial

Cooper at p. 214 of this volume ; that New York and New Orleans are the only cities in America that have not the character of a provincial town. Every man's virtues or vices, wisdom or folly, excite in Boston, Dr. Dwight says, “ much the same attention, and are examined much in the same manner, as in a country village.”

\* “ The Boston style is a phrase proverbially used throughout a considerable part of this country, to denote a florid, pompous manner of writing, and has been thought by persons at a distance to be the predominant style of this region. It cannot be denied, that several publications written in this manner have issued from the press here, and for a time been much celebrated. Most of the orations delivered on the 5th of March, may be produced as examples. Still, it has never been true that this mode of writing was either general in this town, or adopted by men of superior talents.”  
—Dwight, vol. i. p. 469.



neighbours would have refused to adventure at all.\* The manner in which they commenced the trade of Nootka Sound, and circumnavigated the globe, advantageously illustrate this observation. A ship belonging to Joseph Barrett, Esq. and others, sailed round the earth three times; and a sloop of moderate size, once. Few merchants in America would, I believe, have resolved on these enterprises, and few seamen have executed them. On the other hand, the dealers in Georgia lands found many more customers in Boston, than in New York. The tea shipped to Boston by the East India Company, was destroyed: in New York and Philadelphia, it was stored." †

The enterprising spirit by which the Bostonians, and the New Englanders generally, are distinguished, has characterized them from the very foundation of the colony; and it formed one topic of eloquent panegyric in the splendid oration of Burke, on moving his famous Resolutions of Conciliation with the Colonies. "Look," he said, "at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale-fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling

\* The following remarks, intended for the Americans generally, but more especially applicable to the New England emigrants, will illustrate this feature of their character. "The villages on the American frontier, form a striking contrast with those on the Canada side. There, bustle, improvement, and animation fill every street: here, dulness, decay, and apathy discourage enterprise, and repress exertion. It is said, that not one-tenth part of the houses in Buffalo are paid for, and that the greater number of these are already mortgaged. The Americans build houses and make improvements entirely for the benefit of posterity, as they generally engage in speculations so disproportioned to their means, that ruin and insolvency overtake them before they can realize what they have projected, or enjoy what they have accomplished."—Howison, p. 131.

† Dwight., vol. i. pp. 465—466.



mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straits, whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold; that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the South. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them, than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know that whilst some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries. No climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood." \*

It is curious enough to compare with this splendid encomium upon the adventurous spirit of mercantile enterprise, the caricature of the New Englander drawn by an American Writer, in which the same general lineaments are nevertheless preserved. "These Yankees are certainly a very strange race of people. You will see them with their eel-skins upon their hair, to save the expense of barbers, and their ear-rings in their ears, to improve their sight, to see how to cheat



you better, I suppose. They would sooner die than part with one of these ornaments, unless you pay them well for it. At the same time, they live upon nothing. A rasher of pork is a feast for them, even on holidays. Their favourite drink is nothing but switchel or molasses and water, which, they tell you, is better than burgundy or champaign. They are, however, better taught than fed, and make the finest, boldest sailors in the world. They can sail to the North Pole and back in an egg-shell, if the ice does not break it. Indeed, they are seamen by birth, and box the compass in their cradles. You know our genteel laziness unfits us (Virginians) for the drudgery of commerce : so we leave it all to the Yankees. These crafting part of them come here at all seasons in their sloops and schooners, bringing a miscellaneous cargo of all sorts of *notions*, not metaphysical, but material, such as cheese, butter, potatoes, cranberries, onions, beets, *coffins* ;—you smile, but it is a fact, that, understanding some years ago, that the yellow fever was raging here with great violence, some of them very charitably risked their own lives to bring us a large quantity of ready-made coffins, of all sizes, in nests, one within another, to supply customers at a moment's warning ; an insult which we have hardly forgiven them yet. You will see them sailing up into all our bays, rivers, and creeks ; wherever the water runs. As the winter comes on, they creep into some little harbour, where they anchor their vessels, and open store on board, retailing out their articles of every kind to the poor countrymen who come to buy. Towards the spring, they sail away with a load of planks or shingles, which they often get *very cheap*. Indeed, the whole race of Yankee seamen are certainly the most enterprising



people in the world. They are in all quarters of the globe where a penny is to be made. In short, they love money a little better than their own lives. What is worst, they are not always very nice about the means of making it, but are ready to break laws like cobwebs, whenever it suits their interest." \*

"This," remarks Lieutenant Hall, (from whose pages we take the citation,) "is confessedly a caricature, but its distorted lineaments may help us to some of the true features of the New-Englanders. They are the Scotchmen of the United States. Inhabiting a country of limited extent, and incapable of maintaining its own population, their industry naturally and successfully directed itself to commercial pursuits; but, as even these became gradually insufficient to maintain their growing numbers, they began, at an early period of their history, to seek for settlements among their neighbours to the South and West.....They were far from acceptable guests. The plodding Dutch and Germans of New York and Pennsylvania held them in particular abhorrence, and, as far as they could, hunted them from their neighbourhood, whenever they attempted to gain a footing in it. 'It is,' says the Author of the Olive Branch,† 'within the memory of those over whose chins no razor has ever mowed a harvest, that Yankee and sharper were regarded as nearly synonymous. And this was not among the low and the illiberal, the base and the vulgar: it pervaded all ranks of society. In the Middle and

\* "Letters from Virginia," lett. vi.

† This political publication, by William Carey, of Philadelphia, is supposed to have had a greater run than any work of the sort, since Paine's "Common Sense," seven editions having been called for in thirteen months.



Southern States, traders were universally very much on their guard against Yankee tricks, when dealing with those of the Eastern.’

“ It is, therefore, to this class of adventurers and emigrants we are to look for the least favourable traits of the New England character. Patient, industrious, frugal, enterprising, and intelligent, it cannot be denied that they are frequently knavish, mean, and avaricious, as men who make gain the master-spring of their actions. Here we perceive the force and meaning of the Virginian satire ; but here, too, its application must be restricted. Even emigration seems to be so far moulded into a system, that it is no longer the resource merely of rogues and vagabonds,\* but is embraced as an eligible mode of bettering their condition, by the young and enterprising of all classes. It is a wholesome drain to the exuberance of population, and preserves at home that comparative equality on which public happiness and morals depend.

“ The New Englanders should be seen at home, to be correctly judged of : as far as testimony goes, it is universally in their favour. ‘ I feel a pride and pleasure,’ says Mr. Carey, ‘ in doing justice to the yeomanry of the Eastern States : they will not suffer in a comparison with the same class of men in any part of the world. They are upright, sober, orderly, and regular ; shrewd, intelligent, and well-informed ; and I believe there is not a greater degree of genuine native urbanity among the yeomanry of any country under the canopy of heaven.’ † This is the character

\* Whether the first Yankee emigrants peculiarly deserved this character, may reasonably be questioned ; but the prejudice against them then existed in all its strength.

† Olive Branch, p. 275.



my own experience recognised in the inhabitants of the beautiful Genesee country, which has been entirely cleared and settled by New Englanders.

“ Their religion is scarcely more their glory in their own eyes, than (it is) their opprobrium in those of their neighbours. Pretensions to superior sanctity are always received with jealousy, especially by a people among whom devotion is in repute. The contrast too, betwixt the pious seeming and substantial knavery of many of the New England adventurers, naturally brings these pretensions into still greater discredit, and extorts a wish that they had either a little more morality or a little less religion. There is, however, no reason to doubt, that, in the bulk of the inhabitants, religion is not merely a show and pretext, but a belief and practice. Men tire of mutual hypocrisy, when it has grown too common to impose.” \*

“ Education,” remarks Mr. Duncan, “ which prevails much more universally throughout the New England States, than in any other portion of the Union, and is frequently accompanied with religious instruction, has given to the natives a very decided cast of national character, resembling, in many respects, that for which the Scots among Europeans have long been distinguished. The kind of education also in the two countries, is remarkably similar: it is more general than accurate, and more useful than elegant, imparted by means of district or parochial schools, and, in this country, almost entirely without expense to those who receive it. The characteristics

\* F. Hall's Canada, pp. 339—343. These remarks come with at least the grace of impartiality from a writer who has taken care, by a virulent and ignorant tirade against Calvinism, and a high compliment to the Unitarians, to let us know that the religion of the New Englanders is little to his taste,



of a New Englander are, intelligence, sobriety, enterprise, perseverance. When he finds his range at home too limited to admit of a sufficiently successful application of these qualities, he betakes himself to distant regions, and traverses one State after another, till he finds some nook in which he can establish himself with advantage. In the Southern and Western States, many of the most successful merchants, the most industrious farmers, the most money-making land-speculators, are natives of New England; and scarcely is there a station in society, or a mode of obtaining a livelihood, in which there will not be found a full proportion of them. If you meet a waggon in some remote country-road, with a cheerful-looking family, and a tall, slender figure whistling along with an axe over his shoulder,—it is a Yankee backwoodsman on his march for the wilderness of Illinois or Tennessee; where he will build a log-house, clear a few acres of land, sell the whole at a profit to the next comer, and start with the waggon a second time, to penetrate some hundreds of miles further into the woods, and repeat the process. If you see at the turnpike-gate of a country town, a light carriage resembling a British taxed-cart, built up all round with a pile of assorted packing-boxes and trunks,—it is the travelling-store of a New England pedlar, who is marketing his wares, *swopping*, or selling, or buying, as he and his customers can agree about it; *guessing* away with every one he meets, but turning all to good account in the end. In all those bye-ways of getting on in the world for which America affords unexampled facilities, none are found to succeed like the natives of New England.

“The consequence of this adventurous spirit is, that they attract, along with their prosperity, a con-



siderable share of the envy and ill-will which successful rivalry generally excites. Perhaps, there are instances in which cunning, rather than honesty, has characterized their enterprises; but, among so many adventurers, it is not surprising that some should be unprincipled; and of course, a well-educated and ingenious rogue has a fearful advantage over ignorant and stupid ones. From whatever cause it may have arisen, it is certain that, in the South, there is a strong prejudice against them; and it is very customary there to say many hard things of the Yankees, which are true only of a small number, and those the very worst of them." \*

American writers are apt to forget, when they complain of the unfavourable representations of the national character given by English travellers and journalists, and impute them to illiberal prejudice, that those representations have chiefly originated with themselves. It is from the character which the Yankee, for instance, bears among his southern countrymen, that we in Europe have taken our idea of the New Englander. Admitting that the most unjust estimate has been formed of the resident population of the Eastern States, the blame must rest upon those parties whose *sectional* prejudices have led them to asperse and ridicule the character of the best educated and most estimable portion of the American people. "It is worthy of remark," says the Author of *Notions of the Americans*, "that nearly all the English travellers who have written of America, pass lightly over this important section of the Union. Volumes have been written concerning the half-tenanted districts of the West, while the manners and condition



of the original 'States,' where the true effects of the American system can alone be traced, are usually disposed of in a few hurried pages." The reason is obvious ; there is less to excite curiosity and to gratify the imagination, in the tame landscape and sober civilization of New England, than in the savage luxuriance of nature in the western wilderness, or the " fresher and more vivid tints of a border life." But it is in the Eastern States, that religion, order, frugality, and even liberty have confessedly taken deepest root ; and " no liberal American," Mr. Cooper tells us, " however he may cherish some of the peculiarities of his own particular State, will deny them the need of these high and honourable distinctions." \*

It is not a little singular, that the etymology of the *soubriquet* by which the New Englander is now so generally distinguished, should already have become doubtful. The word is most commonly supposed, Mr. Cooper informs us, to be a corruption of *Yengeese*, the manner in which the native tribes first known to the colonists, pronounced the word English ; and those who reject this derivation, are unable, he adds, to produce even a plausible substitute.† It has been usually applied in this country to the American colonists indiscriminately, as a term of contempt ; but, as adopted by the Americans themselves, it is used with a remarkable distinction in its acceptation. There is the Yankee proper or New Englander, and the Yankee by courtesy or misnomer. " At home," we are told, " the native even of New York, though of English origin,

\* Cooper's Notions, vol. i. pp. 131—134.\*

† Knickerbocker tells us, that Yankies in the *Mals-Tchsuag*, or Massachusetts language, signifies *silent men*, and that it was waggishly given by the Indians to the loquacious strangers ! This, we presume, is meant only for a joke.



will tell you he is not a Yankee," the term being perfectly provincial in its application.\* "But, out of the United States, even the Georgian does not hesitate to call himself a Yankee. The Americans are particularly fond of distinguishing anything connected with their general enterprise, skill, or reputation, by this term. Thus, the Southern planter, who is probably more averse than any other to admit a community of those personal qualities which are thought to mark the differences in provincial character,—will talk of what a Yankee merchant, a Yankee negotiator, or a Yankee soldier can do, or has done; meaning always the people of the United States. Thus, it is apparent, that the term has two significations among the Americans themselves, one of which may be called its national, and the other its local meaning. The New-England-man evidently exults in the appellation at all times. Those of the other States with whom I have come in contact, are manifestly quite as well pleased to lay no claim to the title, though all use it freely in its foreign or natural sense." †

Assuming this representation to be correct, the pro-

\* New York, however, may now almost be considered as Yankee-land, being for the most part peopled with emigrants from New England. From three-fifths to two-thirds of the inhabitants, according to Dr. Dwight, have originated from that country.

† Cooper's Notions, vol. 1. pp. 72, 3.—This Writer proceeds to assert, that the inhabitants of different States living a thousand miles asunder, speak of each other with more kindness in common, than the inhabitants of adjoining counties in England or provinces in France. In another place, he remarks, that the United States of America are perhaps the only country in Christendom where political disaffection does not in a greater or less degree prevail. The glaring inaccuracy of both assertions renders this Author's statements on other subjects liable to suspicion. The first is in palpable contradiction to his own admissions, as well as to general testimony. As to the latter, he must be supposed, for his credit's sake, never to have heard of the Hartford Convention.



per explanation seems to be, that the aristocratic gentry of Virginia, and the planters of the slave-holding States, have no objection to share in the credit and advantage of any doings of the Yankees, that are thought to reflect credit upon the national character, while they nevertheless despise their plodding industry, hate their Puritan principles, and are extremely jealous of their political ascendancy.

Including the inhabitants of the six States of New England, this Writer calculates, that not fewer than four millions of the American people are descended from the settlers at Plymouth and their successors; that is, four-tenths of the white population. This estimate seems to be quite within compass of the fact. About one million are inhabitants of the three States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, comprising an area of not quite 14,000 square miles, which gives an average of a little less than 70 to the square mile. Massachusetts itself, which is about the extent of Yorkshire and Lancashire united, contains above half a million, or 71 persons to the square mile, which is the *maximum* of the density of American population on any extended surface.\* In these three States, there is a fair proportion of town and country, and a more equal distribution of the labour of society between commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, than in any other section of the Union. Almost every man in New England lives on his own ground, and the lands are universally held in fee simple, descending to the children in equal shares. Every freeman is eligible to any office. The spirit of independence naturally re-

\* This is somewhat less than that of the kingdom of Denmark, and exceeding that of Spain. As compared with that of the two English counties, it is as 1 to 4.



sulting from this state of things, constitutes a distinguishing trait in the character of the people.

"We have in New England," says Dr. Dwight, "no such class of men as, on the Eastern side of the Atlantic, are denominated peasantry. The number of those who are mere labourers, is almost nothing, except in a few of the populous towns; and almost all these are collected from the shiftless, the idle, and the vicious. A great part of them are foreigners. Here, every apprentice originally intends to establish, and, with scarcely an exception, actually establishes himself in business. Every seaman designs to become, and a great proportion of them really become, mates and masters of vessels. Every young man hired to work upon a farm, aims steadily to acquire a farm for himself; and hardly one fails of the acquisition. All men are masters here of themselves; and such is the combined effect of education and society, that he who fails of success in one kind of business, may, almost of course, betake himself with advantage to another."

Comparing the general character of the population with that of Old England, the learned Writer says:—"We are behind you in learning, science, and a multitude of mechanical and manufacturing arts; in agriculture, in architecture, in commerce, and in wealth; in the fine arts, in liberality, and in various other advantages of improved society. At the same time, we are more affable, more easy of access, and universally more social and more ready to oblige. We are also more orderly, quiet, and peaceful; are governed with less difficulty, and by milder measures. Our common people are far better educated than yours, both in the school and in the church; and for this very good reason; that they are all at school, and almost all at



church. All of them can read, and write, and keep accounts.\* Almost all of them do read, and many of them much. At the same time, our state of society prompts men to become acquainted with many things besides their own business. *That*, they understand, generally, less perfectly than the English. But they understand many things of which the same classes in England know little or nothing. An English artisan, or farmer, bends, and is obliged to bend, the whole force of his mind to the attainment of perfection in his proper employment; and this he accomplishes in a degree rarely reached by the citizens of any other country. A New-Englander is under no such necessity, and finds many inducements to turn his thoughts towards many other objects. In this manner, he becomes, to a considerable extent, actually acquainted with those objects, and acquires an expansion of mind and a rationality of character, not often found in any other country.

“ The quantity of ardent spirits consumed chiefly

\* “ The State of Massachusetts contains nearly 600,000 souls, all of whom (of proper age) with the exception of about 400, can read and write. It is probable that the latter number is composed chiefly of foreigners, blacks from other States, and those who laboured under natural disabilities.”—Cooper’s Notions, vol. i. p. 123. “ A conviction of the importance of public instruction,” says Mr. Webster, in his oration on the second centenary of the landing of the pilgrim fathers, “ was one of the earliest sentiments of our ancestors. Assembled on this spot, one hundred and fifty-three years ago, the legislature of this colony declared: ‘ Forasmuch as the maintenance of good literature doth tend to the advancement of the weal and flourishing state of Societies and Republics, this Court doth therefore order, that, in whatever township in this Government consisting of fifty families or upwards, any meet man shall be obtained to teach a grammar-school, such township shall allow at least 12/., to be raised by rate on all the inhabitants.’ . . . . That which is elsewhere left to chance or charity, we secure by law. For the purpose of public instruction, we hold every man subject to taxation in proportion to his property.” In Connecticut, the schools are supported by a distinct fund.



by the middle and lower classes of people, is scandalous to the national character, although much less in its amount than that drunk by the same number of people in Great Britain.\*

“ The sabbath is observed in New England with a greater degree of sobriety and strictness, than in any part of the world. As we have often been severely censured on this very account, the truth of this observation may of course be admitted. Public worship is regularly attended twice every sabbath by a very great part of our people, and is every where attended with decorum and reverence. Our laws in Massachusetts and Connecticut forbid travelling on the sabbath ; the whole day being considered as sequestered by God to himself, and consecrated to the duties of religion. . . . By the Christians of this country, the strict observance of the sabbath is esteemed a privilege, and not a burthen ; and to be released from it, a diminution, not an increase of the blessings given to the Jewish Church.”†

“ The morality of the New-Englanders may be fairly estimated from the following facts. There have been fewer capital crimes committed in New England since its settlement, than in any other country on the globe, (Scotland, perhaps, excepted,) in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. Half or two-thirds of these inhabitants sleep, at the present time, without barring or locking their doors. Not more than five duels have been fought here since the

\* The principal drink of the inhabitants of New England, Dr. Dwight says, is cider. “ Porter is drunk by fashionable people, and, in small quantities, ale.” Wine and punch are “ extensively used.”

† Dwight, vol. iv. pp. 334, 5 ; 343 ; 349. In Connecticut, the observance of the Lord's day is from sunset on Saturday to the following sunset.



landing of the Plymouth colony. During the revolutionary war, although party spirit rose to the highest pitch, and although New England contained at that time about one million of people, but one man suffered death by the hand of violence, and one more by the decision of a court of justice.”\*

The unimpeachable veracity and extensive information of the learned American from whom these statements proceed, entitle them to far more attention than the hasty opinions of passing travellers. They accord substantially, however, with the most respectable testimonies of witnesses who could not be biassed by national partialities; and they supply important data for estimating the real tendency and efficiency of the civil and religious institutions of the country.

Captain Basil Hall bears testimony to the distinguishing frankness and good temper of the Americans generally. “During the whole course of my journey,” he says, “I never saw an American out of temper;” and notwithstanding that he made no scruple to attack on all occasions their favourite opinions, and to depreciate their institutions, he is unable to recall a single instance in which any thing captious or personally uncivil was ever said to him. At Boston, he visited the Navy-yard, where, “with that absence of all idle concealments” which he found every where in America, the engineer explained to him all his plans, and discussed various nautical topics, “to the entire oblivion of national rivalries.”† At Brighton, a village

\* Dwight, vol. i. pp. 142, 3. The learned Writer adds, that during the preceding fourteen years, he had travelled not far from 12,000 miles, chiefly in New England and New York, and had never seen two men engaged in fighting.

† A high compliment is paid to the American naval officers by this Traveller, at the expense of the rest of the community. “They are the only persons,” he remarks, “whose whole lives are



near Boston, this Traveller witnessed the great annual cattle-show of the State of Massachusetts, which is held there in the month of October; on which occasion, he was exceedingly shocked at one trait of American barbarism,—displayed, not in the treatment of the animals, but in the exclusion of the fair sex! The scene is too characteristic to be passed over.

“ Besides a ploughing match with twenty teams of oxen, there were various trials of strength by cattle drawing loaded carts up a steep hill. The numerous pens where the bullocks and sheep were enclosed, afforded also a high treat, from the variety of the breeds, and the high condition of the animals exposed. Lastly, we were shewn the rooms in which the specimens of domestic manufactures were displayed: most of these goods, which appeared excellent in quality, gave indication of native industry well worthy of encouragement. In spite of all these objects of interest, I felt ill at ease, and was struck to the heart with what seemed to me the cruel spectacle of such a numerous assemblage of people on such a fine sunny day, in as pretty a little valley as ever was seen, close to a romantic village, and within four miles of a great and populous city like Boston; and yet, amidst all this crowd, there were no women! Literally and truly, among several thousand persons, I counted, during the whole day, only nine females. I wandered round and round the grassy knolls in search of some signs of life

passed in permanent habits of subordination. In fact, they are almost the only men by whom the practical value of those inequalities in rank which the rest of the American world deride, are admitted to be important. . . . I have reason to believe, from what I saw and heard, that the American discipline, especially as applied to officers, is more stern than in the British navy. Democracy, with its sturdy equality, will hardly do *afloat*.”—B. Hall, vol. ii, pp. 146—8.



and merriment,—some of those joyous bursts of mirth which I had been wont to hear in other lands on similar occasions. But my eye could discover nothing to rest upon but groupes of idle men, smoking cigars, and gaping about, with their hands in their pockets, or looking listlessly at the penned up cattle, or following one another in quiet, orderly crowds up the hill, after the loaded carts, glad, apparently, of the smallest excitement to carry them out of themselves. But not a woman was to be seen. Neither were there any groupes of lads and lasses romping on the grass; no parties of noisy youths playing at foot-ball for the amusement of the village maidens; no scampering and screaming of the children among the trees; for, alas! the little things appeared nearly as solemn and soberly disposed as their elders.

“But in all the numerous booths placed over the ground, parties were hard at work with the whiskey or gin bottle. In some, companies of ten or a dozen people might be seen working away at hot joints and meat pies;—all very ordinary sights, I grant, at a fair in any country; but the peculiarity which struck me, was the absence of talking or laughing, or any hilarity of look or gesture. I never beheld any thing in my whole life, though I have been at many funerals, nearly so ponderous or so melancholy, as this gloomy, lumbering, weary sort of merry-making. I felt my spirits crushed down, and as it were humiliated, when, suddenly the sound of a fiddle struck my ear, literally the very first notes of music I had heard, out of a drawing-room, in the whole country. Of course, I ran instantly to the spot, and what was there?—Four men dancing a reel!” \*

\* B. Hall, vol. ii. pp. 150—152. This Traveller's conclusion, that the American women do not enjoy their proper station in



In every part of the country, our Traveller was struck with this strong line of demarcation between the sexes, which he ascribes of course to the democratic institutions of the country. The people are, he thinks, too busy with politics, to devote much of their time to the domestic fire-side ; and the women cannot be made sufficiently to understand what is going on out of doors, to take a continued interest in what engrosses their husbands. Add to which, they have but little time for recreation, owing to "the increased household duties inevitably imposed upon the mistress of a family by the total want of good servants in America ; an evil which no fortune can remedy. Good nurses, men servants, cooks, or any description of female attendants are rarely to be found ; and if found, no money will bribe them to stay long in a house, or to behave respectfully when there." All over America, this Traveller admits, "the women are treated with much kindness by the men." He "never saw or heard of any rudeness, or had any reason to suspect that incivility towards females was ever practised, or would be tolerated, even in those parts of the country which have enjoyed the least advantages in the way of civilization and refinement." But this kindness and attention, he considers as quite compatible with "the absence of an habitual and mutual understanding between the sexes," such as should enable the women in America to exert that social influence and control which they exercise in "more fortunately arranged communities."

It is unfortunate, that an attempt to describe the manners and customs of this country, should involve

society, will probably be deemed not a very legitimate inference from the fact, that it does not accord with their notions of delicacy to attend cattle shows.



the perplexing task of correcting, at every step, the false impressions, or reconciling the opposite representations of prejudiced observers. The general fact is unquestionable, that, in the United States, the women associate less promiscuously with the other sex, and live more secluded, than in this country; but there is reason to believe, that their actual condition and substantial influence are very inaccurately estimated by this Traveller. At all events, the opposite view of the subject presented by a native writer, merits attention, even if it may be suspected of a partial colouring.

“To me,” says the Author of “Notions of the Americans,” “woman appears to fill, in America, the very station for which she is designed by nature. In the lowest conditions of life, she is treated with the tenderness and respect that is due to the beings whom we believe to be the repositories of the better principles of our nature. Retired within the sacred precincts of her own abode, she is preserved from the destroying taint of excessive intercourse with the world. She makes no bargains beyond those which supply her own little personal wants, and her heart is not early corrupted by the baneful and unfeminine vice of selfishness. She is often the friend and adviser of her husband, but never his chapman. She must be sought in the haunts of her domestic privacy, and not amid the wranglings, deceptions, and heart-burnings of keen and sordid traffic. So general is this fact, that I have remarked a vast proportion of that class who frequent the markets or vend trifles in the streets of New York, (occupations that are not unsuited to the feebleness of the sex,) are either foreigners or females descended from certain insulated colonies of the Dutch, which still retain many of the habits of their ancestors amid



the improvements that are throwing them among the forgotten usages of another century.\*.....I saw every where the utmost possible care to preserve the females from undue or unwomanly employments. If there was a burthen, it was in the arms or on the shoulders of the man. Even labours that seem properly to belong to the household, were often performed by the latter; and I never heard the voice of the wife calling on the husband for assistance, that it was not answered by a ready, manly, and cheerful compliance. The neatness of the cottage, the farm-house, and the inn; the clean, tidy, healthful, and vigorous look of the children; united to attest the usefulness of the system. What renders all this more striking is the circumstance, that not only is labour in so great demand, but, contrary to the state of things in all the rest of Christendom, the women materially exceed the men in numbers. This seeming departure from what is almost an established law of nature, is owing to the emigration westward."†

As regards the social influence of women, there is no reason to believe that it is not as great in America as in England.‡ But there exists, no doubt, a con-

\* "The employments of the women of New England are wholly domestic. The business which is abroad, is all performed by men, even in the humblest spheres of life."—Dwight, vol. i. p. 460.

† Cooper's Notions, vol. i. pp. 140—142.—From the census of 1820, there appears to have been at that time in New England, rather more than thirteen females to twelve males above the age of sixteen.

‡ Captain B. Hall's authority as an observer in such a case, the Edinburgh Reviewers remark, "is considerably shaken by what seems to us an extravagant exaggeration of the kind of influence exercised by the sex in England; when he announces the existence there of a 'necessity that all Englishmen, especially the highly gifted and ambitious, should carry with them the sympathy of the female portion of the class to which they belong.'" In fact, our Traveller's observations on this subject, partake more of the gal-



siderable difference in their habits and in public manners. The American women are characterized generally by a greater degree of reserve and coldness of manner, than even is imputed by foreigners to the English. The language of gallantry, Mr. Cooper says, is never tolerated. "A married woman would consider it as an insult, and a girl would be apt to laugh in her adorer's face." The married women are rarely seen foremost in the scenes of gayety ; but, between young persons of both sexes, great frankness of intercourse is permitted, without the least danger of its running into impropriety. Describing the ladies of New York, a French writer says : "The women follow here in their dress the French fashions, but are entirely American in their manners ; that is to say, they devote almost their whole existence to the management of their families and the education of their children. They live in general very retired ; and although the greater number of them are able to furnish the resources of an agreeable and lively conversation, they nevertheless occupy but little room in assemblies, where the young girls alone seem to have the right to reign. The latter, it is true, derive from nature and education, all the means of pleasing. The unlimited liberty which they enjoy without ever abusing it, imparts to their manners a grace, a freedom, and a modest carelessness which are not always found in our saloons, where, under the name of reserve, we impose on our young girls so irksome a formality. If the American wives are remarkable for their strict fidelity to the conjugal ties, the young women are not less so for their constancy to their engagements." \*

lantry of the sailor, than of the refinement of true breeding ; and much that he predicates of England, is true only of certain parts of it and certain classes.

\* La Fayette en Amérique, tom. i. p. 269.



It is probable that the austere principles of the Puritan emigrants, may have left some traces of their influence in the graver manners of the New Englanders. In other parts of the United States, women attend races, balls, and "fourth of July celebrations," without any restriction. The sedentary habits of the women of New England, are adverted to by Dr. Dwight as unfavourable to their health and personal appearance. These are attributable, however, to neither puritanism nor democracy, but "seem to be considered as intimately connected with the gentility of the female character." Walking, he says, is very little practised, and riding on horseback is "almost out of the question." This neglect of sufficient exercise, is adduced as one cause why the American women lose their beauty and the brilliancy of youth at an earlier period than the English.\* The climate has probably some share in producing this result. But above all, the early age at which marriages almost universally take place, must be considered as having a material influence, both physical and moral, on the health, habits, and manners of the women.

"The manners of the American women strike me," says a female Writer, "as peculiarly marked by sweetness, artlessness, and liveliness. There is about them, at least in my eyes, a certain untaught grace and gayety of the heart, equally removed from the studied English coldness and indifference, and the not less studied French vivacity and mannerism. They enter very early into society; far too early, indeed, to be consistent with a becoming attention to the cultivation of their minds. I am, however, acquainted with striking exceptions to this general practice. The society collected in large evening assemblies, is almost

\* Dwight, vol. iv. p. 462.



exclusively composed of the unmarried young. A crowded room is in this way a pretty scene for a quiet observer to look into for half an hour; but, if he has survived the buoyant spirits of first youth, he will then find it better to walk home again.....The youth of both sexes here enjoy a freedom of intercourse unknown in the older and more formal nations of Europe. They dance, sing, walk, and 'run in sleighs' together, by sunshine and moonshine, without the occurrence, or even the apprehension of any impropriety. In this bountiful country, marriages are seldom dreaded as imprudent, and therefore, no care is taken to prevent the contracting of early engagements. It is curious to see how soon these laughing maidens are metamorphosed into fond wives and attentive mothers, and these giddy youths into industrious citizens and thinking politicians." \*

The American youth of both sexes are, for the most part, married before they are two and twenty; and it is not unusual, we are told, to see a girl of eighteen a wife and mother. Obvious and substantial as are the advantages attending early marriages, as regards the morals and happiness of a people, where they can be contracted without criminal improvidence, they are attended with serious drawbacks when they take place before either the physical constitution or the energies of the character can have reached maturity. And the general complexion of society must be robbed of some portion of its gayety, by thus shortening the period of youth, and by the early withdrawal of the gay and lovely from the more public circles.

The climate of New England is distinguished by the general purity of the air, and the sudden and

\* Wright, pp. 32-33.



extreme variations in the temperature. The heat of an American summer, even in this high latitude, is excessive.\* In the month of July, at Boston, Mr. Duncan found the thermometer at mid-day ranging from  $80^{\circ}$  to  $90^{\circ}$  Fahr.; and one day, it stood at  $81^{\circ}$  at half past six A.M.; rose to  $93^{\circ}$  at noon; to  $96^{\circ} 30'$  at half past two; was at  $94^{\circ}$  at five P.M.; and at ten P.M., stood at  $82^{\circ}$ . The winters are much more severe than in Europe under the same parallels. The most remarkable peculiarity, however, is the violent transitions occasioned by the north-west winds. The thermometer will, at certain seasons, indicate a change of more than  $30^{\circ}$  in less than twenty-four hours, and Dr. Dwight states, that he has known it sink  $48^{\circ}$  within that period.† These winds have been attributed to the Great Lakes in the Interior; but the learned Writer remarks, that they do not blow from that quarter, and that the country in the immediate neighbourhood of the lakes, enjoys a milder climate than those tracts which lie further eastward in the same latitudes. He is of opinion, that the only way in which their peculiar properties can be accounted for, is by supposing, that they descend from the upper regions of the atmosphere, where they form a superior current of colder and purer air than the under current of the atmosphere on the surface of the earth.‡ The

\* It is a remarkable circumstance common to both continents, that the western shores enjoy a maritime climate decidedly milder than that of the interior; whereas the eastern shores of both Asia and America are but little affected by their proximity to the ocean. The climate of New England greatly resembles that of Pekin.

† "In the Carolinas and Georgia, a variation of  $20^{\circ}$  in twenty-four hours is common. In Charleston, on the 17th of March, 1819, the thermometer fell  $33^{\circ}$  in twelve hours; in 1751,  $40^{\circ}$  in sixteen hours."—Hodgson, vol. ii. p. 285.

‡ For the facts and reasonings by which this hypothesis is supported, see Dwight, vol. I. pp. 39—45.



influence of these winds on vegetation, is specific and remarkable. Wood burns, during their prevalence, more rapidly and vividly, with a crackling flame ; and in the month of March, during which they blow with little intermission, all kinds of wood shrink and become dry in a greater degree than in the most intense heat of the summer sun. The atmosphere of New England is generally very pure, and the sky peculiarly bright. On comparing the meteorological journals kept there with those of Europe, it appears, that more days of clear sunshine occur there, than in any country of the eastern continent, Russia excepted ; notwithstanding that a larger quantity of rain falls there, chiefly from thunder-showers. These violent alternations of temperature must obviously be very trying to the constitution even of the natives, and are doubtless a principal cause of the prevalence of pulmonary complaints.\* The average proportion of deaths to the population, does not appear to be higher in New England, than in Europe ; but there is this remarkable difference ; that whereas the chances of attaining to the age of puberty are apparently more favourable in New England, the number of deaths between that age and forty, is in a much higher proportion.† In the middle and western States, but

\* Of the diseases of New England, the most extensively fatal, Dr. Dwight says, is pulmonary consumption. The natural causes are, the severity, and especially the frequent sudden changes of the weather. The artificial ones are intemperance, prevailing to a considerable extent among people of the lowest class, and unhappily not altogether confined to them ; a sedentary life ; and the mode of dress. A "new disease," called the spotted fever, and the spurious peripneumony have occasionally committed great ravages in New England and other parts.—See Dwight, vol. i. pp. 60, 38.

† Dr. Dwight asserts, that whereas in most parts of Europe the chance of living to five years of age is as one to two, in New Eng-



especially in the southern, human life is, on the average, decidedly shorter. But instances of remarkable longevity are upon record.\*

To an Englishman, the extremes and sudden variations of the atmosphere are not less disagreeable than the moisture of our insular climate is to foreigners.† Mr. Hodgson bears testimony to the extreme clearness and transparency of the atmosphere in New England, which enhances in a peculiar degree the beauty of the scenery. "Indeed," he adds, "a common landscape is often rendered beautiful by the extreme distinctness with which every outline is defined, or the vivid colouring with which, at sunset, the air itself seems suffused. Compared with an English atmosphere in its effects on scenery, it always reminded me of the difference between plate and common glass. I do not know whether the purity of the

land, the chance is one to two of living to seventecn. In Europe, the number of individuals under sixteen years of age, is reckoned to be one-third of the population; and those above forty-five, one-fourth. In the United States, the number under sixteen, is one-half; and the number above forty-five, scarcely an eighth; but, in Connecticut, in 1800, those under sixteen, were not quite one-half; and those above forty-five, rather more than a sixth.—Dwight, vol. i. p. 58.

\* At Northampton in Massachusetts, of those who died within a given period, one in four survived the age of seventy; and at Concord, in the same State, of 222 who died within thirteen years, 97 had exceeded that age. Dr. Dwight gives a list of individuals, natives of different parts of the Union, who attained the ages of 100, 104, 107, and upwards.—Dwight, vol. i. p. 64.

† "Were our atmosphere equally moist with yours," says Dr. Dwight, "the most intense heats of our sky would scarcely be tolerable. Our climate is, alternately, severely cold and severely hot. The damp, the wet, and the mud of his own country, the Englishman is accustomed to from his infancy, and therefore thinks nothing of them; although the same weather, when it exists here, is more disagreeable to us than our heat and cold."—Dwight, vol. i. p. 55.; vol. iv. p. 338.



atmosphere does not add still more to the beauty of a moonlight scene. A winter moonlight night in America, when the ground is covered with snow, is really like enchantment. I am not, however, enamoured of the climate; or, at least, I have deliberately decided in favour of our own,—the vicissitudes here being very sudden, and the extremes formidable. But there are, and very frequently, days so beautiful, that I feel as if I would pay almost any price for the enjoyment they bring.” \*

Among the natural advantages of New England are to be reckoned, its numerous harbours and inlets, fronted, for the most part, with islands; its finely varied surface; and the abundant supply of good water in the shape of springs and wells, brooks and mill-streams, lakes and rivers. The principal rivers are, the Connecticut, the Hooestennuc, and the Thames, which flow into Long Island Sound; the Merrimac, which falls into the Atlantic at Newburyport; the Piscataqua, the Saco, the Ameriscoggin (or Androscoggin), the Kennebec, the Penobscot, and the Shoodac or St. Croix, all of which fall into the sea on the eastern coast. The most beautiful feature of the country is the Valley of the Connecticut, which intersects New England from north to south, extending through almost four degrees of latitude. This beautiful river, which takes its rise in the highlands that separate New Hampshire from Lower Canada, flowing southward, divides New Hampshire on the west from Vermont, and then passing through Massachusetts and the State to which it gives name, falls into the Sound, not far from its entrance. Beauty of landscape, Dr. Dwight says, is an eminent characteristic of this valley. From Hereford mountain to Saybrook, near



its mouth, it is almost a continued succession of delightful scenery ; and he expresses his persuasion, that no other tract of equal extent in the United States, can, in this respect, be compared with it.\* The river is navigable, for vessels drawing ten feet water, to Middletown, thirty-six miles ; and, for those drawing eight feet, fourteen miles further, to Hartford, which enjoys, alternately with Newhaven, the honours of a provincial or State capital.

Captain Basil Hall proceeded from Boston to Providence, the capital of Rhode Island ; and thence, over a rugged, hilly, disagreeable road, to Hartford in Connecticut. Here, he visited three important establishments, all of first-rate excellence in their respective lines ; the State Prison (upon the Auburn plan), the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, and the Institution for the Insane, where the moral treatment and the system of gentleness are carried even still further than in England. " The institutions of Hartford," says this Traveller, " which indeed are not to be excelled anywhere, not only do high honour to this part of the Union, but are every way creditable to the nation generally." From Hartford, he proceeded to Newhaven ; but, for a description of this town and the general aspect of the country, we must avail ourselves of the more graphic pages of Mr. Duncan.

#### NEWHAVEN.

" **THERE** is nothing in Britain," says this Traveller, " that bears any resemblance to a New England town, and it is not easy to convey an idea of its singular neatness. The houses are generally of wood, painted white, and decorated with Venetian blinds of a bril-

\* A minute topographical description of the Valley is given by Dr. Dwight in his second volume.



liant green. The solid frame-work of the walls is covered externally with thin planks, called by Americans, clapboards, which overlap each other from the eaves downward, and serve effectually to exclude rain. The roof is covered with shingles, which are thin slips of wood put on like slates, and painted of a dark blue. The buildings are, in general, about two stories in height; the door is decorated with a neat portico; and very frequently a projecting piazza, most grateful in hot weather, with benches under it, extends along the whole front of the house. Mouldings and minute decorations of various kinds are carried round the principal projections. A garden is not unfrequent behind, and a neat wooden railing in front, inclosing a grass-plot and a few trees. Such houses would soon look rusty and weather-beaten were they in our climate; but they enjoy here a purer atmosphere, and the smoke of coal fire is unknown. The painting is renewed once a-year, which serves to preserve the wood for a long time. The churches, or meeting-houses, as they are more generally called, are, in the smaller towns, also of wood, and, with the addition of a steeple and a gilt weather-cock, resemble very much the other buildings. In the large towns, they are of brick or stone, but retain generally the green Venetian blinds upon the windows. The streets are wide, and run off, at right angles to each other, from a large open square covered with green turf, in the centre of the town: the churches, town-house, and an inn or two, not unfrequently front this green. Gravel walks skirt many of the streets, and occasionally rows of limes or poplars. The agreeable succession of gardens, grass-plots, trees, foot-walks, and buildings, gives an air of rural quietness to the town; and the open space which frequently inter-



venes between one house and another, prevents much of the danger which would otherwise arise from fire. Everything betokens an unusual share of homely simplicity and comfort, and the absence at once of great riches and of great poverty.

“ New Haven possesses most of the distinctive peculiarities which I have now noticed, but combines with them much of the compactness, durability, and bustle which we usually consider inseparable from a town. The churches and a great many of the dwelling houses are of brick, a few even of stone,\* and two or three of the streets are very closely built. The numerous buildings also of Yale College, all of brick, and constructed with regularity and neatness, complete its claims to superiority.

“ The country round New Haven is very picturesque. Behind the town, at a distance of about two miles, is an amphitheatre of rugged hills, not unlike some of our Scottish scenery; in front is an inlet from Long Island Sound, affording a safe and commodious harbour; to the right and left, a richly cultivated country, relieved by patches of forest; and in wide expanse before it, the blue waves of the sea rolling in

\* The original churches in Newhaven are described by Dr. Dwight, as “barely decent structures;” but in 1812, all the congregations voted, that they would take down their churches and build new ones. Accordingly, two of them commenced the work in 1813, and a third in 1814. These three are all placed on the western side of Temple-street, which is 100 feet wide, facing an open square. “The Presbyterian churches are of Grecian architecture. The Episcopal church is a Gothic building, the only correct specimen, it is believed, in the United States. Few structures devoted to the same purpose on this side the Atlantic, are equally handsome.”—Dwight, vol. i. p. 154. In one of the congregational or Presbyterian churches, Mr. Duncan says, an organ has been introduced, but with a special stipulation that no voluntary shall be allowed to break in upon the solemnity of worship.



magnificence. Two bare precipices, called East and West Rock, 400 feet high and about two miles apart, form part of the semi-circular range. They are prominent features in the landscape; and events in the annals of our native country with which they are associated, impart to them that traditional charm which is so often wanting in American scenery. In the fastnesses of these rocks, some of the regicides of Charles I. found shelter from their pursuers, when the agents of his profligate son hunted them for their lives." \*

Of the individuals referred to, President Dwight has communicated some highly interesting particulars. About three miles N. E. from Northampton in the Connecticut Valley, and 90 miles due W. of Boston, is the little town of Hadley. "In this town," says the learned Writer, "resided for fifteen or sixteen years, the celebrated regicides, Goffe and Whalley. They came hither in the year 1654, and lived in the house of the Reverend Mr. Russell, the minister. Whalley died in his house. Some years since, the house was pulled down by Mr. Gayland, the proprietor, when the bones of Whalley were found buried just without the cellar wall, in a kind of tomb formed of mason-work, and covered with flags of hewn stone. After his decease, Goffe quitted Hadley, and went into Connecticut, and afterwards, according to tradition, to the neighbourhood of New York. Here he is said to have lived some time, and, the better to disguise

\* Duncan, vol. I. pp. 94—96.—It is generally believed, Captain B. Hall says, that their place of security was a dark cavern, formed by the overhanging rocks, a mile or two to the eastward of some basaltic cliffs, which, in their geological character, height, and picturesque appearance, exactly resemble Salisbury Crags, near Edinburgh, except in being clad with a forest of young oak, intermixed with the cactus. 'The retreat of the fugitives is still called "the Judge's Cave,"—B. Hall, vol. II. p. 202.



himself, to have carried vegetables at times to market. It is said, that having been discovered here, he retired secretly to the colony of Rhode Island, and there lived with a son of Whalley, the remainder of his life. The following story has been traditionally conveyed down among the inhabitants of Hadley.

“ In the course of Philip’s war,\* which involved almost all the Indian tribes in New England, and, among others, those in the neighbourhood of this town, the inhabitants thought it proper to observe the 1st of September, 1675, as a day of fasting and prayer. While they were in the church, and employed in their worship, they were surprised by a band of savages. The people instantly betook themselves to their arms, which, according to the custom of the times, they had carried with them to the church, and rushing out, attacked their invaders. The panic under which they began the conflict, was, however, so great, and their number was so disproportioned to that of their enemies, that they fought doubtfully at first, and in a short time began evidently to give way. At this moment, an ancient man, with hoary locks, of a most venerable and dignified aspect, and in a dress widely differing from that of the inhabitants, appeared suddenly at their head, and with a firm voice and an example of undaunted resolution, re-animated their courage, led them again to the conflict, and totally routed the savages. When the battle was ended, the stranger disappeared, and no one knew whence he had come, or whither he had gone. The relief was so timely, so sudden, so unexpected, so providential; the appearance and retreat of him who had

\* The tragical death of this high-minded but unfortunate chief, Philip of Pokanoket, forms the subject of an affecting paper in Mr. Irving’s Sketch Book.



furnished it were so unaccountable; his person was so dignified and commanding, his resolution so superior, and his interference so decisive, that the inhabitants, without any uncommon exercise of credulity, readily believed him to be an angel sent by Heaven for their preservation. Nor was this opinion seriously controverted, until it was discovered, years afterwards, that Goffe and Whalley had been lodged in the house of Mr. Russell. Then it was known that their deliverer was Goffe; Whalley having become superannuated some time before the event took place. There is an obscure and very doubtful tradition, that Goffe also was buried here." \*

Colonel Dixwell, another of the King's Judges, we learn from other authority, found shelter also in America. "He visited his fellow exiles in their concealment, and being himself unknown, settled and married at Newhaven under the name of James Davids. By that name he signed his will, but there he adds it to his own. His tomb-stone is shewn at Newhaven with only the initials 'I. D. Esq. deceased March 18th, in the 82d year of his age, 1688.' Another stone, with the initials, 'E. W. Esq.' is traditionally supposed to mark the grave of Whalley:—if it be so, his bones must have been removed there by Dixwell; an affecting act of pious friendship." †

"I have seen both the grave-stones alluded to," says Mr. Duncan: "they still stand in the old burying-ground behind one of the churches. The inscription on the first is in rude characters, and is thus arranged :

I. D. Esqr.  
Deceased March ye  
18 in ye 82d year of  
his age, 1688<sup>o</sup>.

\* Dwight, vol. i. pp. 317, 318.      † Quar. Rev., vol. ii. p. 324.



The other stone, which has been supposed to commemorate Whalley, must have been erected over some other person whose name and history have been lost ; for the date, which has generally been read 1688, is in reality, 1658. The mistake has arisen from a slight injury which the stone has received, and which has imparted to the figure 5 something of the shape of an 8, although it is still quite possible to decipher its original form. None of these relics will long survive. The ancient burying-ground is no longer used ; the fence round it has gone to decay ; and the moss-grown grave-stones are rapidly disappearing under the dilapidating attacks of idlers, who are daily defacing these frail memorials of the dust which sleeps below.\*

“ The new cemetery which has sprung from the ashes of the old one, in simplicity of arrangement and elegance of monumental decoration, leaves at a great distance all others that I have anywhere seen. It is in shape an oblong square, divided by a regular succession of avenues, crossing each other at right angles, and skirted by rows of Lombardy poplars. The divisions which are thus formed, are subdivided into spaces sufficient for family burying-places, which are surrounded with a neat wooden railing, painted white. There is scarcely a grave which has not a monument of one kind or other ; and with the exception of those transferred from the old burying-ground, they are almost universally of white or green marble. Some of those of white marble were executed in Italy. The green marble is found in abundance about two miles off, and

\* The whole of the old grave-stones, with the exception of the two above referred to, were, in July 1821, removed to the new cemetery. The ground has been levelled and sown with grass, and a marble slab affixed on the wall of the church, alone records the use to which it was formerly appropriated.



is thought by some to bear a close resemblance to the verd antique. The monuments consist of obelisks, tables, and upright slabs at the head and foot of the grave. The obelisks are ranged in the centre of the principal subdivisions, in parallel rows, and at right angles to each other. The inscriptions, which are cut on the white marble, are generally painted black; those on the green are gilt, and have a very rich effect.

“ While the monuments in the old burying-ground seem devoted to ruin, those in the new one, although accessible to every passenger, are treated with the most scrupulous respect. A neat fence surrounds the cemetery; but openings are left at regular intervals, from which numerous foot-walks cross the ground. The soil is composed of a light sand, and shoots from the poplars are springing up so numerously, that they threaten to over-run it. Except the slight wooden railing, there is no kind of fence round the graves; they are altogether free from those unsightly cages of cast iron by which our burying-grounds in Glasgow are disfigured, and the enclosures are not defaced by those quaint emblems of mortality and grief, which so often, with us, betray the bad taste of the proprietors. A becoming respect is shewn to the memory of the departed; and an air of impressive solemnity pervades the whole enclosure, which is not counteracted by any of those lugubrious, and not unfrequently ludicrous allegorical devices, and misapplied quotations from Scripture, which meet us at every step in our more ancient repositories of the dead. I have visited every shrine in Westminster Abbey, and have heard the marble-hearted verger dole out, in monotonous cadence, the dreary catalogue of names which are entombed and commemorated there. The damp of the long-drawn aisles chilled me to the heart;



and I trod over the ashes of monarchs, barons, and crusading knights, whose sculptured figures, scattered around, were covered with the mutilations and dust of many generations; yet, I doubt whether sympathy with my kindred dust were as strongly excited there, as in the burying-ground at Newhaven." \*

The population of Newhaven in 1820, was 8326 souls; and there were seven places of public worship; the College Chapel, three Congregational, one Episcopalian (formed in 1755), one Methodist (1807), and one Baptist chapel. The state of society in an American town of some standing, may be judged of from the following list, taken in the year 1811, of the different classes into which the population of Newhaven was distributed:—

Houses engaged in foreign commerce .....	} 29	Butchers .....	17
Stores of dry goods .....	41	Bakers .....	5
Grocery stores .....	42	Tallow-chandlers.....	5
Ship-chandlery, do.....	4	Brass-founders ...	2
Wholesale hardware, do... 2		Braziers .....	3
———— dry goods, do... 3		Blacksmiths .....	29
———— glass and china.. 1		Bell-founder .....	1
Furriers', do... ..	1	Tanners .....	9
Apothecaries', do.....	10	Carriage-makers ....	9
Traders in lumber .....	6	Goldsmiths.....	7
———— paper-hangings . 1		Watchmakers .....	4
Shoe stores .....	6	Harness-makers.....	4
—— and boot-makers.....	30	Cabinet-makers.....	5
Hat manufacturers .....	7	Carpenters and joiners ....	50
—— stores .....	5	Comb-makers .....	3
Book stores.....	4	Windsor-chair-makers.....	4
Rope-walks .....	3	Masons.....	15
Sail-lofts .....	2	Tailors.....	26
Ship-yard .....	1	Coopers .....	14
		Stone-cutters .....	3

\* Duncan, vol. 1. pp. 100—103. This cemetery, which Captain B. Hall speaks of as "one of the prettiest burying-places" he ever saw, originally comprised an area of ten acres, but is now extended to twenty. It owes its origin to the public spirit of the Honourable J. Hillhouse, who purchased the ground in 1796.



Curriers .....	7	Book binders.....	2
Block-makers.....	2	Inns .....	12
Barbers .....	5	Schools .....	16
Tinners .....	3	Clergymen.....	6
Wheelwright.....	1	Lawyers .....	16
Nailer .....	1	Physicians.....	9
Leather-dresser.....	1	Surgeon .....	1
Paper-makers .....	2	Newspapers published .....	2*
Printing offices.....	5		

"The New England character," Mr. Duncan remarks, "is very favourably exhibited in Newhaven, where the simplicity and sincerity of the ancient Puritans may still be seen strongly marked in their descendants. Plain and frugal in their domestic habits, they exhibit little of that artificial polish which, like varnish, frequently disguises very worthless materials; and a stranger is not mortified by professions without services, and show without substance..... There is a grammar-school in Newhaven, endowed from a legacy by one of the governors of the State, named Hopkins, in which youths are prepared for college, and which enjoys a respectable reputation. There are also two other seminaries of a kind superior to the district-schools.† Of the minor schools, the teachers of about

\* \* Dwight, vol. I. p. 156. A similar list of the occupations in a new settlement, with which this may be compared, is given at page 263 of this volume. One of the clergymen was bishop of the Episcopal church of Connecticut; and one, far advanced in life, was without a cure. Most of the lawyers in the county, Dr. Dwight remarks, reside at Newhaven; and the physicians practise extensively in the surrounding country. Shoes, saddles, and harness, were manufactured for exportation.

† The district schools of Connecticut are supported out of a fund created by the sale of lands belonging to this State, to that of Pennsylvania. This fund now yields an income of about 18,000*l.* sterling, which is distributed among a population of about 285,000 persons;



three-fourths are females, according to the ancient English custom. Even the poor blacks participate in the prevalent taste for education, for there are two schools at Newhaven appropriated to them. Many of them, I am assured, are able to read, write, and keep accounts, and are, in their own sphere of life, useful and respectable members of society. In building Long Wharf, two black men were contractors for executing a considerable part of the work, where the water is sixteen feet deep."\*

The chief ornament and attraction of Newhaven remains to be noticed,—its college, the rival of Harvard University in literary respectability, and honourably distinguished from it by the orthodoxy of its religious character. The buildings of Yale College make a conspicuous appearance when entering the town from the eastward; and the effect is considerably heightened by three churches which stand at a little distance in front, in a parallel line. The ground between the college and the churches, is neatly divided and enclosed, and ornamented with trees. The college buildings are eight in number. The front line consists of four plain, but uniform structures of brick, four stories high, containing apartments for the students; the intervals being occupied by a chapel with a spire,

presenting the singular circumstance of a larger sum being paid out of the public treasury for the education of the people, than is received by it in the shape of taxes of every kind! In most districts, however, the funds are not sufficient to support the schools for more than half or two-thirds of the year. In many of them, the school is shut during the remainder of the year; in others, the inhabitants assess themselves to support it during the interval. "I believe it is next to impossible," says Mr. Duncan, "to discover in the State a white native who cannot read and write."—Duncan, vol. I. pp. 109, 110.

\* Duncan, vol. I. pp. 108, 112.



a lyceum with a belfry, and a space for a correspondent edifice: two other buildings are behind.\*

Yale College was originally established at Saybrook, in the year 1700, and was incorporated by the colonial legislature in the following year. The project of establishing a college in Connecticut, appears to have been seriously entertained fifty years before; but it was checked, Dr. Dwight informs us, by well-founded remonstrances from the people of Massachusetts, who justly urged, that the whole population of New England was scarcely sufficient to support one institution of this nature, and that the establishment of a second would endanger the prosperity of both. These objections put a stop to the design for the time; it was not, however, lost sight of. In 1718, the infant Institution was removed by the Trustees to Newhaven. It was originally intended simply for the education of young men for the ministry; but, as it gathered strength from individual liberality and public patronage, the range of its plan of study was gradually extended, until it now embraces the more essential parts of a complete literary, scientific, and medical education.

The college received its name in commemoration of the beneficence of the Honourable Elihu Yale, a son of one of the first settlers,† who went to England in early

\* The original colleges were only three in number, named, Connecticut Hall, Union Hall, and Berkeley Hall: a fourth was added in 1821.

† His father, Thomas Yale, Esq., was descended of an ancient and respectable family in Wales, which for many generations possessed the manor of Plas Grannow, near Wrexham. He came from England with the first colonists of Newhaven. In this town his son Elihu was born, April 5, 1648. He went to England at ten years of age; to India, at thirty, where he resided about twenty years; and died at Wrexham, July 8, 1721.—Dwight, vol. i. p. 160,



life, and thence to India, where he became governor of Madras; and on his return to England, he was elected governor of the East India Company. From this gentleman, the College received donations at various times between 1714 and 1718, to the amount of 500*l.* sterling; and a short time before his death, he directed another benefaction to the same amount to be transmitted, but it was never received. Another of its early benefactors was the celebrated Dean Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, who came to America in the year 1732, for the purpose of establishing a college in the Island of Bermuda; a project to which he nobly sacrificed considerable property, as well as time and labour. His efforts being frustrated by the failure of the promised support from Government, he presented to this Institution a farm which he had purchased in Rhode Island,\* and afterwards transmitted to it from England a very valuable collection of books,—“the finest that ever came together at one time into America.” Sir Isaac Newton and many other distinguished men presented their works to the library.

Although founded under the sanction of the colonial legislature, and partially endowed by it, the College was for a long time indebted for its support chiefly to individual patronage: the whole amount bestowed by the colonial legislature during the first ninety years of its existence, did not much exceed 4500*l.* sterling. But when the Federal Government was consolidated, a grant was made, in 1792, to Yale College, out of

\* This farm was in the neighbourhood of Newport, near the south-western extremity of Rhode Island, which, previously to the American Revolution, ranked as the fourth commercial town in the British Colonies, and contained 9000 inhabitants. Here Bishop Berkeley for some time resided.



a fund created by uncollected arrears of war-taxes, by which ultimately 60,000 dollars (13,500*l.*) were realised; and to this day, nearly the whole of the funded income arises from this source. The affairs of the College are under the superintendence of a Board of Trustees, consisting of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of the State, six of the senators, and eleven clergymen. The faculty consists of a President, nine professors, and six tutors. The course, as at Harvard University, extends through four years.

"In Yale College," says Mr. Duncan, "the advantages of the English and the Scottish systems of education seem to be in a great measure combined. The scope for original discussion and elegance of illustration which lecturing affords, is connected with the more laborious and effective discipline of tutors and examination. The whole of the classes are subjected to a rigorous scrutiny twice in each year. The stimulating system of prizes, is partially in use. Bishop Berkeley established a prize fund, which yields annually 150 dollars: this is given in premiums of 50 dollars (11*l.* 5*s.*) each, to the students in different classes who pass the best examination in Latin and Greek. A few others of inferior amount are given for specimens of Latin and English composition, and for public declamation. These premiums are bestowed privately. The Medical School which is in connexion with Yale College, is of recent institution, but already bears an honourable reputation. The expense of education is rather less than at Harvard. I believe that few students can keep their expenditure much under 100*l.* a year; and some of the more extravagant frequently expend twice as much. The President has an annual salary of about 450*l.* sterling; the Professors, from 270*l.* to 340*l.* In the medical department, the



Professor receives no other salary than the fees of the students, with the exception of one, who has an annual stipend of 90*l*. The professors of chemistry and mathematics, besides their salaries as academical professors, have half of the fees received from medical students and strangers who attend their classes." The College library contains nearly 8000 volumes. Connected with the philosophical department is a most commodious and well furnished laboratory. The cabinet of minerals is by far the finest in America, and there are few in Europe that surpass it.\* In November 1820, the number of students in Yale College was, resident graduates, 31; academical students, 319; medical students, 62: total, 412.†

As Harvard University has its literary journal, the *North American Review*, of which the reputed Editor is (or was) Professor Everett; so, Yale College sends forth, under the very able auspices of Professor Silliman, the *American Journal of Science*. From their

\* This superb collection, which is partly private property, was formed by combining two European cabinets; that of M. Gigot D'Orcy of Paris, one of the farmers-general under Louis XVI., who was guillotined during the sway of Robespierre, and that of Count Razamowski, a Russian nobleman sometime resident at Lausanne. To this collection, containing about 18,000 well selected specimens, are added between five and six thousand more, the property of the College and of Professor Silliman.

† Duncan, vol. i. pp. 127—151. A very detailed account of the discipline and course of study at Yale College, drawn from official sources, will be found in this work, followed by a comparison between the American and the Scottish systems of university education, instituted in a spirit of enlightened candour by the able and accomplished Writer. A copious history of the college is given by Dr. Dwight, (vol. i. pp. 167—181,) who presided over it with distinguished ability from 1795 till his death in 1817. His theological lectures, reprinted in this country in 5 vols. 8vo. (1819), deservedly rank as a standard publication. To his wisdom, firmness, and ability, Yale College is mainly indebted for its respectability and orthodox character.



very different nature, these journals can hardly be considered as rival publications: both are highly creditable to the ability and attainments of their respective conductors.

Princeton, in New Jersey, (about 43 miles N. E. from Philadelphia, and 53 from New York,) is the seat of a third college, which has had the honour of sending out some of the most distinguished orators and statesmen that America has produced. It was founded in 1738, and gradually attained to a highly respectable rank as a literary institution; particularly during the presidency of the venerable Dr. Witherspoon, who was invited from Scotland to occupy that honourable situation.\* The college contained in 1818, 150 students. Were the institution established upon a more liberal scale, Mr. Duncan remarks, "it is probable, from its local advantages, that its students would soon outnumber those of any other American college. Situate midway between New York and Philadelphia, its proximity to both, gives it a decided advantage over both Harvard and Yale. To the immense territory south and west of Philadelphia, it is as yet the nearest academical institution of any considerable reputation, and will certainly, if other things are equal, obtain a preference to those that are two or three hundred miles further off. The wealthiest families in the Union, and

\* "It is remarkable," says Dr. Morse, "that all the presidents of this college, except Dr. Witherspoon, were removed by death very soon after their election into office." The Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, elected 1746, died 1747. The Rev. Aaron Burr, elected 1748, died 1757. The Rev. Jonathan Edwards, elected 1758, died the same year. He was succeeded by the Rev. Samuel Davies, the author of some of the best sermons in the language, who died in 1760. The Rev. Dr. Finley, who succeeded him in 1761, died in 1766. Dr. Witherspoon was elected in 1767, and held the office upwards of twenty years.



those who scatter money most lavishly, belong to the southern part of it ; and if a University can be supported any where on a liberal scale, they are able to do it." \*

A theological academy was, in 1811, founded at Princeton, by the Presbyterian Church of the United States, in pursuance of an act of the General Assembly. The funds for its establishment were derived partly from congregational collections, and partly from private subscriptions. The students amounted, in 1818, to about eighty. The tuition is altogether gratuitous. From the proximity of this institution to the college, it was anticipated, that results mutually beneficial would accrue ; and their combined advantages will be a strong inducement to many young men to select Princeton as their place of study.

At Andover, in Massachusetts, there is a similar institution, but on a more munificent scale, founded in 1818, in connexion with the New England Congregational Church. " It had its origin," Mr. Duncan informs us, " in the liberality of three or four wealthy individuals, [who not only bestowed funds sufficient for the commencement of the academy, but, as it was observed to rise in usefulness and reputation, gradually enlarged the amount of their munificent contributions, till it has become possessed of several commodious buildings, and of four endowed professorships, worth, it is said, from 300*l.* to 400*l.* sterling a year. The branches for which they are appointed, are, biblical literature, sacred rhetoric, ecclesiastical

\* Duncan, vol. i. p. 171. The system and discipline of Princeton College are much the same as at Yale College, except that the different departments of instruction are divided among fewer professors and tutors,



history, and systematic theology : with these they combine the other departments of a theological education, and the establishment is probably as practically useful as if the professorships were more numerous. The chairs are said to be reputably filled ; one of them indeed by a gentleman of high celebrity throughout the whole Union. Besides these advantages, Andover possesses about forty scholarships, which are, however, less in individual amount than the two at Princeton." \* In 1821—2, the number of students in this academy amounted to 132. The present Professor of Sacred Literature, the Rev. Moses Stuart, has laid Biblical students under considerable obligations by several works which have been reprinted in this country.

Cornwall, in Connecticut, is the seat of another theological seminary, which claims an honourable mention : it is called the Foreign Mission School, and is devoted to the instruction of young natives of foreign countries, with the view of qualifying them to return home as missionaries or teachers. It was founded in 1809, and contained in 1822, eighteen pupils ; namely, 6 Sandwich Islanders, 1 New Zealander, 1 Malay, 1 Chinese, 1 Cherokee, 1 Oneida, 1 Tuscarora, 1 Caughnawaga, and 2 Stockbridge Indians, with 3 natives of the United States, intending to be foreign missionaries. In March 1823, two young Greeks reached America from Malta, one fifteen, and the other eleven years of age, who had come over for the sole purpose of enjoying the benefit of this school.† Such an institution reflects the highest

\* Duncan, vol. i. p. 179. In 1822, the private benefactions to this theological academy, since its foundation, had amounted very nearly to 100,000*l.* sterling.

† Duncan, vol. i. pp. 179—181.



honour on the philanthropy and enlightened policy of its projectors and supporters.

We must here take leave of New England, and at the same time, of the learned President of Yale College, whose accurate and valuable, though tedious volumes contain the fullest topographical description of this interesting section of the United States.\* In Connecticut, we have the most perfect specimen, perhaps, of a pure democracy, in alliance with the representative principle, tempered by the steady habits and religious character of the population, and by the influence of the clergy, that has ever been realized. The officers of the State are all elective; "yet, the incumbents," Dr. Dwight remarks, "except those who belong to the house of representatives, hold them with a stability unparalleled under any monarchy in Europe." The father, son, and grandson of the family of Wyllys held the office of secretary, in succession, more than a century, and the grandson left it by resignation. The Judges, though annually elected by the legislature, have held their offices, with scarcely an exception, through life. The governors of the State are annually chosen by the people; yet, from 1665 to 1817, there occur but nineteen changes, some of which

\* An abridgement of these Travels, in which the topographical and historical information should be given in a compressed form, omitting the numerous repetitions and trivial details, and substituting for the desultory epistolary form, a proper arrangement,—would be of far more value than the work in its present shape. An amended publication of this description, is due to the memory of the learned Author, and to the public. Within our prescribed limits, it has been impossible to include even an abstract of the multifarious information scattered through 2000 closely printed pages.



were re-elections of an individual who had previously served the office. One highly respected member of the legislature resigned his seat at the council-board, after he had sat there more than fifty years. "There is no country," continues this truly patriotic and enlightened Anglo-American, "where privileged orders do not exist, in which magistrates have been generally held in so high respect." This is the consequence of their long continuance in public office. Under these circumstances, he remarks, the strength of personal attachment comes in aid of the other bonds of society and the other means of supporting Government, which, in the hands of those who have long enjoyed the respect and confidence of their fellow citizens, is felt to be the government of friends; and the attachment to the men is naturally associated with the measures. "The whole force of this affection does not, I confess," adds the learned Writer, "exist even here. For its entire efficacy, we must look to a monarchy, an army, or a navy. The ruler, being a single object, concentrates the whole regard of the mind, and, if an amiable and worthy man, faithfully and wisely discharging the duties of his office, may exert an influence over those whom he governs, next to magical. Of the benefits to which this powerful principle gives birth, free governments ought in every safe way to avail themselves. A doctrine, a constitution, or even an abstract term, may serve as a watch-word of party, a torch of enthusiasm, or an idol of occasional ardour. But there is no permanent earthly object of affection, except man; and without such affection, there is reason to fear, that no free government can long exist in safety and peace." \*

\* Dwight, vol. I. pp. 228—231, 256, 7.



One such object of national affection, the American people have had, in their first and only ruler, who united the nation whom he swayed by the moral force of his character. Washington was loved and obeyed : he has had no successor.

END OF VOL. I.



















